

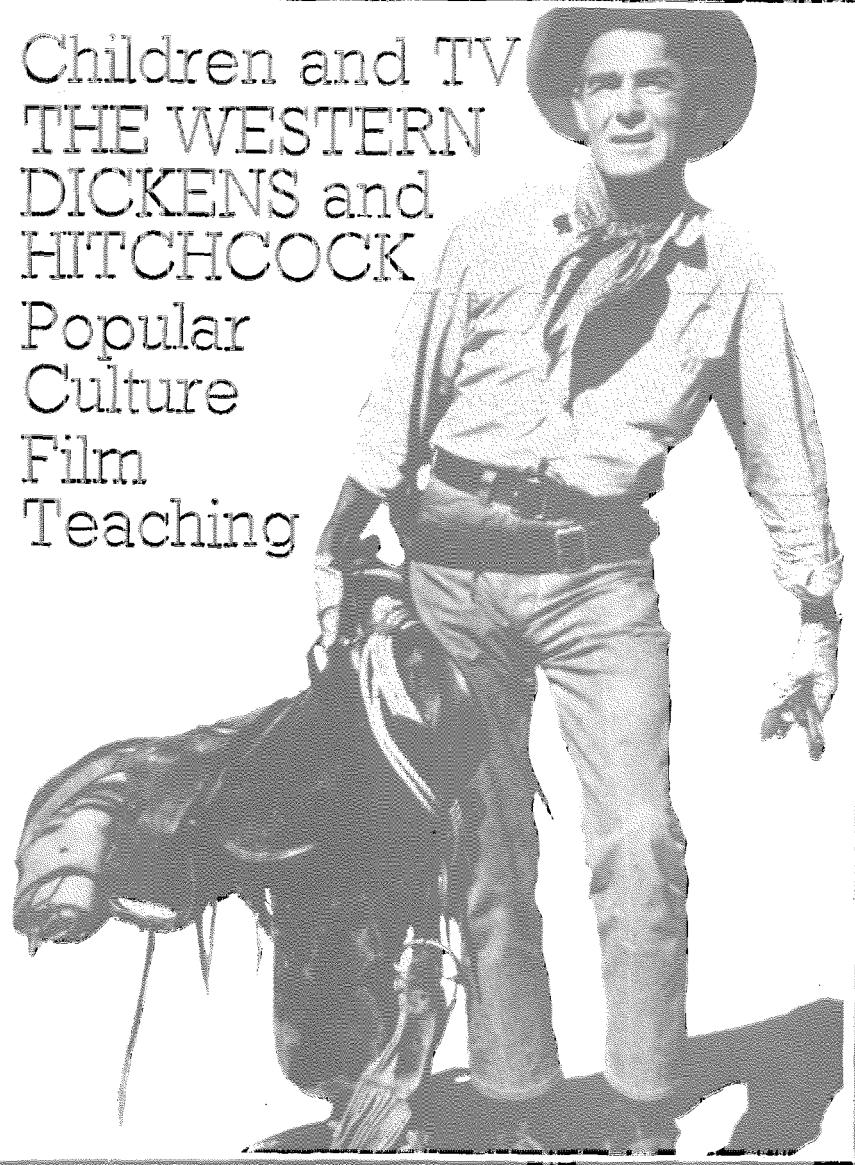
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FOREWORD

This is the customary double issue of *Screen*, the advantage of such an issue being that it enables us to group together several articles on a number of related topics. Thus in this issue we have two contributions from researchers at the Centre for Mass Communication Research at Leicester University and an article by a former secondary school teacher on the neglected area of television teaching. The Reading List on Mass Media prepared by Jim Hillier for the BFI Education Department is particularly appropriate in the context of these articles.

We also print an article submitted from North America dealing with a very particular use of film in education – film teaching in relation to literature.

Part of Paddy Whannel's annual report is printed as this is of special interest to all film teachers. Alan Lovell renews his controversy with Robin Wood and we are also pleased to print a reply to Ed Buscombe on *genre*. It is this kind of sustained debate we are anxious to encourage in *Screen*. In this issue Ed Buscombe contributes an article on Dickens and Hitchcock which may too, provoke a reply.

The series of articles on the British cinema is concluded here with the transcript of John Terry's Kinnaird Lecture on film finance given at the Regent Street Polytechnic.

SOCIAL CONCERN, THE MASS MEDIA AND VIOLENCE

ROGER L. BROWN

The mass media have been a focus of social concern ever since they began to develop towards their present form in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. The cinema industry in the United States was still in its infancy when pressure groups aiming at the censorship of feature films began to develop. In those early years, the banning of film content thought likely to lead to moral depravity became a major aim of those who wanted to control the new medium. In this respect, the cinema attracted the same sort of attention as had the theatre in previous centuries. But later on a new sort of worry about the effects of film began to emerge, and people started to suggest that the new medium might play some part in causing crime, particularly juvenile crime.

Nobody has so far written an adequate historical account of the growth and development of social concern about the supposedly harmful effects of the mass media. However, it seems as though the newspaper press rather than the cinema may have been the main target of attack during the first two decades of this century, at least in the United States. Given an era of sensational journalism, this is hardly surprising. And certainly, if academic research is anything to go by, then work on the effects of newspaper crime content predated work on the effects of crime films. In 1910, for example, a Frances Fenton submitted a doctoral dissertation to the University of Chicago entitled 'The Influence of Newspaper Presentations upon the Growth of Crime and other Anti-Social Activity'.

It was not until the nineteen-thirties that serious research attention was directed to the cinema, and again mainly in the United States. Between 1933 and 1935 the Payne Fund studies were published, and several of these explored the relationships between cinema attendance and juvenile delinquency. On the whole, the authors of these studies tended to suggest that a link did exist, though as in the case of Fenton's study, the methods employed might not be thought of very highly today.

In the years since the Second World War, attempts have been made to link the rise in juvenile crime to both comics (or better, American-style comic books) and television. The campaign against violent and sadistic comics led eventually to the Children and Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Act of 1955. Concern about the possible harmful effects of television has led to the growth of at least one vocal pressure group, the National Viewers and Listeners Association, and to renewed research activity. During the period when the Annan Committee is considering the future of British broadcasting it seems likely that charges will continue to be levelled against television and that old research findings will be re-examined and new ones called for. Following the launching of 'law and order' as a potential election issue, the Home Secretary has met with the heads of the two broadcasting organizations to consider the operation of their respective codes on violence.

Indeed, in recent years, social concern about the harmful effects of the mass media has tended to concentrate on the question of violence: do the mass media (as the question goes in its simplest form) actually cause violence by presenting violence? As we shall see, this one question is really many questions, with the notion of 'cause' taking on a rather different sense in each one. But as well as examining these more specific forms of the question it may be worthwhile looking more closely at the nature of the social concern itself.

One indication that public concern about the possible link between the mass media and real life violence is more the expression of diffuse social anxiety than evidence of rationally held beliefs lies in the fact that the mechanisms supposedly linking media content and this or other kinds of deviant behaviour are rarely clearly defined. However, it is possible to think of a number of such mechanisms. Most simply there might be direct imitation of violent or aggressive behaviour (and it is this process which critics of the media have most commonly mentioned explicitly). Rather similarly, it has been suggested that film and television are able to teach the details of criminal technique to those already disposed to crime or already embarked on a delinquent career. Again, the mass media have been charged

with glorifying crime, particularly violent crime, and those seeking to establish a link between the media and delinquent behaviour have argued that impressionable youngsters will tend to identify with real or fictional criminals and so be led to emulate their exploits. These three mechanisms – imitation, the learning of techniques, and identification – all represent fairly direct connections between what is seen or read, and subsequent violent behaviour. But there are more subtle arguments, too. It is argued, for example, that most potential delinquents are well aware of the law-abiding norms of middle-class society, even though they may be pulled towards criminality by other forces. In this sort of situation, the attention paid to crime by the mass media may lead to delinquents being able to legitimize their own deviant behaviour either beforehand or afterwards: crime, it is argued, is presented as a normal part of life, and delinquents are therefore able to convince themselves that their own behaviour is 'normal'. (The argument can clearly apply to deviant behaviour in general, not just to violence.) Like the mechanisms already mentioned, this process can be quite well described in the language of social psychology and in terms of the relationships between the individual delinquent and the media. The more elaborate arguments involve the consideration of more complicated social situations, but it will be as well to look first at some of the relevant social research. In fact, much of the research designed to see whether there is any link between media violence and real life behaviour has concentrated on examining the likelihood of direct imitation, or more generally on the likelihood of an individual behaving more aggressively after seeing a film or television programme featuring violent or aggressive behaviour. Typically, one group of subjects are shown an aggressive film, while a second, control group see a non-aggressive, neutral film. Many experiments of this kind have now been conducted, both in the United States and Europe. On balance, the majority have indicated a greater likelihood of subjects behaving more aggressively after seeing the aggressive film, thus supporting a stimulation or direct imitation argument, though some experiments have produced contrary evidence in favour of the catharsis argument (which suggests, roughly speaking, that if people act out their aggressive impulses in fantasy terms they will be less likely to behave aggressively in real life). On occasion, much has been made of all these experimental results: indeed in the United States recently the finding that exposure to aggressive images may lead to an increased amount of aggressive behaviour has been taken as positive proof that such a relationship automatically holds true in the world outside the experimental laboratory. In fact, the interpretation and application of these results is far less easy than this.

In the first place, many of these experiments have been conducted with either young children or University undergraduates. In the case of the former, one wonders how the results obtained are supposed to apply to those older adolescents who are in fact most likely to commit violent crimes, whether against people or property. In the case of student subjects again, there is some question with some of the experiments about the possibility of the subjects knowing of the general hypotheses underlying the research and therefore responding in the 'right' way, whether consciously or unconsciously. There are questions too, about the measures used to assess the level of aggressiveness observed after the viewing session. The general charge here would be one of artificiality: with older subjects, for example, the supposed administration of electric shocks has been used in several cases (the more shocks given, the greater the level of aggressiveness), while in another experiment with young children their desire to 'pop' balloons was taken as the index of how aggressive they had been made. But even beyond these questions of the representativeness of the subjects used and the techniques of measurement, other points need raising. For although it may be shown that subjects behave more aggressively *immediately* after seeing a violent film, we still do not know what the long-term effects are likely to be: possibly the actual acting out of aggression immediately after viewing is just as cathartic as acting out aggression in mental fantasy. More important, even if viewing aggressive material on television or at the cinema does make people more violence prone, this is still a long way from saying that they will actually act violently at a later time. The fact that there is social concern about violence and that crimes of violence are generally considered among the most serious points to the existence of strong social constraints on people actually behaving violently or aggressively. These comments should not be seen as detracting from the care and ingenuity with which many of the experiments have been conducted, but rather as warnings that it is all too easy to go beyond the evidence available. The temptation to make unwarranted extrapolations are of course all the greater when the topic under investigation is the focus of social concern and when the general public, governments, the media institutions and social scientists are all anxiously looking for firm answers.

In more general terms still, the experimental research reflects what one might term the traditional kind of public concern about the mass media and violence – worry about the possible effects of media violence in triggering off violent behaviour in individuals. But this is only one of the ways of looking at the possible relationships, and the recent wave of riots, demonstrations and other kinds of direct action (Negroes and students in the United States, students in France, Germany and Britain) has raised new issues.

As well as the suggestion that television may show people what a properly conducted riot or demonstration ought to look like, the instant, simultaneous television coverage given to events of this kind in the United States can arguably be seen as a means whereby the intensity of the conflict is heightened. Television may present the situation in more polarized terms than is really justified, and participants on both sides – rioters and police – may react to the image of the other's behaviour, rather than the reality. And here we come to the question of the manner in which public disturbances are reported on by the mass media, and in particular television. The usual charge laid against television is that it has an inbuilt tendency to report incident rather than background, so that what gets on to the screen is likely to be shots of violent clashes with an accompanying commentary explaining, in somewhat military fashion, the deployment of the opposing forces, rather than an account of the sequence of events leading up to this situation. We have to go no further afield than Northern Ireland to see that there may be some truth in these allegations. But the argument that television may, through being a visual medium, lay undue stress on violent incident and hence intensify conflict is not the only way in which social violence and mass media coverage may be linked together.

Demonstrations are themselves a means of communication, but so possibly also are riots, whether or not they are consciously started as a means of drawing attention to social ills and injustices. It can be argued that these kinds of more direct action are resorted to when the normal political processes of lobbying, pressure groups and the election of representative spokesmen are not working, or are believed to be not working. And of course normal political processes include access to the mass media of communication so that one point of view can be advanced in public. Thus it can be argued that the denial of a media platform to Negro or student leaders in the United States has played some part in the violence with which social unrest has been manifested. But this, of course, is not the sort of thesis which lends itself to proof or disproof in the psychological laboratory.

Television coverage and street violence may be linked in a more trivial way, too. The more causes that take to the demonstration as a way of making their point, the less chance each will have of gaining headline coverage. The exercise becomes self-defeating unless the added spice of violence is included – for from the point-of-view of the television reporter violence may be seen as more worthy of coverage. Whether or not the violence deployed during a demonstration aids or hinders the cause lying behind the protest is another matter. Up to this point in time in Britain, it seems reasonable to suggest that violence, or even the media's own expectation or prediction of

violence, has enhanced the chances of a demonstration gaining television and press coverage (though television news programmes now appear to be taking extra care to label demonstrations as non-violent if such is the case). At the lowest level of all, the mere seen presence of television cameras has been suggested as enough to trigger violence from demonstrators who think themselves in range of the lens: but this factor, if important at all, is clearly far less so than demonstrators' general expectations about the differential attention likely to be paid to violent and non-violent activities (and possibly, too, the self-fulfilling expectations which the police may derive from how previous events have been reported and presented).

The assumption made so far has been that violence shown on television or film has the effect, if anything, of eliciting or stimulating real-life violence. Even proponents of the catharsis argument commonly suggest that levels of aggression are raised, even though they are discharged in fantasy terms. But violence presented through the mass media may possibly act as a disincentive, too. How many people do not go on demonstrations because they are fearful of becoming involved in violence? Possibly a large number, and possibly due to the television coverage they have previously seen. But arguments about this kind of effect become even more crucial when we turn to the television coverage of war – and of course at the present time inevitably to the handling of the fighting in Vietnam and Cambodia by the three major American television networks

The central question is posed most dramatically by asking whether the war has been shown in the United States in a *sufficiently* graphic and violent form. If more of the real physical horror had been shown, it is argued, then the anti-war movement would have gained greater momentum earlier. The lack of mutual comprehension between those fighting in the trenches and those safe at home during the First World War has been pointed out often enough: in the case of Vietnam, the daily newsfilm footage flown home has obviously narrowed the gap enormously. Even so, network executives have spared the home audience some of the worst scenes. Political history might possibly have been different had they not.

Yet at the same time as violence and horror horrify, they may also desensitize: it is seldom a matter of *either* one or another sort of effect taking place, even for the same member of the audience. At the same time as we are horrified by scenes of modern guerrilla warfare (or by reports of violent crime nearer home), we may be becoming more accustomed to such things. For us, as for the ambulance driver, becoming hardened makes it easier to take. Warfare is in one sense a normal part of international relations, just as violent crime is (and has for a

long time been) a normal part of civilized society: but mass media coverage of such things may make us more tolerant than we would otherwise be. Whether in fact media violence is leading to this kind of desensitization in the long term is another matter: the social sciences are certainly not equipped at the moment to give answers to this kind of question, and it is in fact very hard to see what kind of methodology would be appropriate. Social concern about real life violence, media violence and the relationships between the two suggests that we may in this country at the moment be becoming *less* tolerant of violence: yet again, social concern about violent crime may mean that we *expect* violent crime to happen, and this may possibly make the event itself more likely. But one has to look somewhat more carefully at the nature of the social concern before examining this argument in more detail.

Those groups and individuals who express concern about the possibly harmful effects of the mass media are quite likely to refer to the general air of disquiet which they themselves have created as itself evidence that the charges laid are true. At particular periods, concern seems to have fed on itself. The social scientist, on the other hand, looks at the expression of such concern in quite a different way. Leaving entirely aside for the moment the question of whether the concern is in any sense based on an actual state of affairs, the sociologist will look on this type of public belief as a social fact for which explanations can be sought. He will be interested in why people are particularly concerned about violence (rather than about a whole range of other social ills), and why the mass media are pointed to as the major causal agents (rather than other aspects of society being blamed). As it happens, rather little attention has been paid to developing good sociological explanations of why social concern about the supposed ill effects of mass communications has been such a recurrent theme over the last few decades. If we think of the social concern as evidence of a desire to censor and control the output of the mass media (and this has indeed often been the case), then one can say that much more attention has been paid to the more formal and clear-cut ways in which the media are controlled. Studies of the legal controls to which the mass media are subject are not too hard to find, and censorship and self-censorship policies in the film industry have been relatively fully described. What we lack are investigations of the less formal pressures which have impinged on the mass media industries from time to time, and of the relationships between such informal pressures and the more formal and institutionalized controls. Even so, it is possible to make one or two suggestions about the nature and development of social concern as it relates to the mass media.

The first and most obvious thing to note is that a particular medium has generally been most heavily criticized during its early years. The cheap, mass circulation newspaper was blamed for a rising crime rate during the early decades of this century when it was still a relative novelty. Films became a major target of attack during the cinema industry's early heyday in the thirties. Television has been blamed for the rise in juvenile delinquency and violent crime during the 'fifties and 'sixties. Even though the whole history of public concern with the media could do with a greater degree and depth of historical attention than it has so far received, the fact that the *novelty* of a newly innovated medium has often been closely connected with concern about its ill effects would be difficult to refute. Perhaps even more obviously, the mass media are highly *visible* targets of attack. If one is searching round for some explanations of a rise, or supposed rise in violent crime, then newspapers, films or television, given the fact that they do contain accounts or scenes of violent behaviour, automatically become likely-looking candidates merely because their presence is so inescapable. However, there is a little more to it than this: the medium must clearly be visible to those groups which are particularly likely to articulate concern about their supposed damaging effects. It is a striking fact, for example, that recent statements of concern about social violence and the rise in violent crime have not made reference to the kinds of feature films which have obtained circuit distribution over the last decade. For those on the lookout for scapegoats, the Bond cycle (to take one obvious example) ought to be as promising as *The Avengers*. The simple fact seems to be that those likely to be concerned about media effects are *unlikely* to be members of the cinema audience (and what we know about the age distribution of the cinema audience would back this up). Again, in a rather different way a further refinement of the visibility argument may serve to account for the fact that, on the whole, the BBC has been a more consistent target for attack than the programme companies controlled by the ITA: the greater degree of apparent centralization in the BBC makes it an easier institution to criticize (though other factors would no doubt need to be brought into a fuller account). In addition to notions of novelty and visibility, the further idea of *simplicity* can also be invoked. Sociologists and other social scientists are now able to offer a range of suggestions about why certain sorts of behaviour are labelled as criminal and why people actually commit crime, including crimes of violence. These explanations are certainly by no means satisfactory, even to sociologists, but the important point in the present context is that they are relatively complicated theories, and ones that so far do not seem to have been effectively popularized. On the other hand, the idea of someone straightforwardly *imitating* something seen or read about is

familiar to everybody from every-day experience in all sorts of circumstances – indeed, there is obviously no doubt that children, for example, do imitate certain things they see on television: parents may be glad that Dalek voices have disappeared at the same time as they view with alarm the amount of rifle fire in recent *Dr. Who* episodes. The simplicity and comprehensibility of the direct, imitative process supposedly linking media fare with subsequent violent behaviour must obviously form part of a general explanation for recent social concern.

It would be wrong to suppose, however, that social concern about the mass media and violence always takes the same form when expressed by different groups and individuals. Indeed, we know little at the moment about how extensive this concern really is. Statements by pressure groups, vocal individuals and Members of Parliament are reported by the media, and the implicit suggestion often made is that such statements are indicative of widespread concern on the part of the general public. Whether or not this is so is another matter, and unfortunately, if we carry out a survey to find out, we may simply discover that people echo élite opinion without really being particularly worried or interested themselves. But leaving aside the extensiveness of public concern, two other things about it deserve comment. In the first place, alongside worry about the extremely graphic way in which television programmes (and of course films) can present violence, there runs a line of argument which suggests that what is mainly wrong with the presentation of violence is the fact that it is seldom shown graphically *enough*: blood and mangled limbs are never seen and, in fictional material particularly, the act of killing is clean and instantaneous. This latter characterization would of course fit the older kind of television Western well enough, but hardly the newsfilm from American campuses we have been seeing more recently. It all depends on the content one has in mind, but those who express concern in fact often fail to say quite what they are concerned *about*. Even more strikingly, much greater attention has been paid to the supposedly harmful effects of feature films and drama series than to the consequences of visual news reporting that pulls fewer punches than it used to. The political and social reasons for this feature of social concern about media violence again deserve study.

But if sociologists can be interested in social concern about the effects of mass media content on violent behaviour, and can try to bring to bear on the attendant beliefs and attitudes just the same kinds of theories and methods that they might apply in their attempt to understand political or religious or ethical beliefs and attitudes, does this necessarily have to be a separate undertaking from social scientific investigations of the connections, if any, between violence

on the screen or in print, and violence as it actually occurs? It is probably safe to say that up to this point in time these two lines of research have been kept more or less separate: so far as public concern has been studied or thought about, it has been dealt with under the heading of censorship rather than being related to developments in thinking about the effects of mass communication (although the sort of social concern discussed here is itself one very obvious effect of the rise of mass communication). However, this kind of separation may itself be misleading. The fact that violence in the media is believed to be some kind of cause of violence in real life may itself need to be taken into account in looking at the actual set of relationships between media and actuality. Something needs to be said about why this might be so.

One of the facts of social life which sociologists and social psychologists often lay stress on is the extent to which we behave in the ways which other people expect of us, and are in fact led to do so by the subtle indications other people give us of just what their expectations are. Most people will be able to accept the reality and importance of this sort of expectation from their own experience, particularly perhaps on thinking back to times when they have found themselves in a strange or unfamiliar social situation for the first time. But these kinds of expectations exist not only in small, face-to-face groups, but in society more generally. To express it in shorthand, society has certain expectations about how people filling various social positions or roles will behave. This may extend as far as there being certain quite general expectations about how individuals filling certain very general social roles will behave – roles such as that of male, working-class teenager, to take what is perhaps the crucial case. Now what those who have expressed social concern about the possible link between media violence and real-life violence might have suggested is that the original media content – a newspaper crime report, or a war film, or *Big Breadwinner Hog* – itself gives to adolescents the idea that violence is an appropriate form of behaviour for individuals in their position. What can be suggested alternatively, if we bring social concern into the picture, is that it may be the social concern which itself suggests to teenagers that violence is an appropriate form of behaviour. Those who express concern about a rise in juvenile violence may themselves be transmitting to teenagers the clear message that teenagers can be expected to act violently. And if people behave in ways that they see or believe others expect them to behave, then the explanation for juvenile violence offered by those who criticize the mass media may rather become (and ought to be seriously examined as) a prophecy which runs the danger of self-fulfilment. In our sort of society, boys and young men are already

expected to be tough – to play rough sports, to get into periodic fights, and generally to behave in an appropriately masculine fashion. Social concern about juvenile violence may create congruent, and additional expectations.

But if television programmes in particular (including of course all the feature films re-shown on television) are the original source of social concern at the present, the other media, particularly the newspaper press, may need to be brought into the picture if we are to go further in understanding why ‘Rockers’ or ‘Greasers’ or ‘Skin-heads’ come to receive those labels and behave the way they do. Just as censorship has traditionally been a field of research separate from the investigation of effects, so too has much mass media research focused on only one of the media. Here too there may be another artificial distinction in need of being broken down.

Everybody knows that reports of crime, or what the sociologist might prefer to call deviant behaviour, forms a staple part of the news we receive every day. But although television and radio bulletins will carry the report of an unusual murder, or a particularly large-scale bank raid, it is the national and local newspapers which have space to devote to a wider and fuller range of crime; while in terms of the reporting of run-of-the-mill court cases, it is probably the local newspaper which emerges as the most important medium. Indeed, though social concern about the ill effects of the media is mainly at the moment focused on television as the prime causal agent, those who believe that a link exists must surely rely very heavily on the newspaper for much of their evidence that crime, and particularly violent crime, is on the increase. At the moment, unfortunately, we do not know very much about which media people rely on for their knowledge of crime, or about their images of crime and the criminal, though survey data on these matters should become available in the future. Even so, commonsense suggests that what people believe about crime may depart some way from reality. Crimes against the person (which include some offences which would not normally be thought of as crimes of violence) account in fact for only some 7 per cent of all indictable (or, roughly speaking, more serious) offences, whereas one expects to find that most people will put the figure much higher than this. Again, people may believe that murders tend to be committed by total strangers, whereas one stands a much higher chance of being murdered by someone one already knows (quite possibly a member of the family). The distortions probably enter in at two steps in the process: since crimes involving violence *are* regarded as more serious than thefts, newspapers devote more space to them and give them greater prominence, which in turn leads to readers further exaggerating the predominance of such

offences. (Although people might not be aware of this, or ready to admit it, television programmes may play their part here too – *Dixon of Dock Green* as much as *Softly, Softly*. The types of offence and offender dealt with in these two series is a nice indication of the different views of crime and the police that lie behind them.)

But the importance of looking at the newspaper press lies not only in understanding how it is that people are able to sustain concern about the effects of the media on juvenile behaviour in the sense of finding evidence that ‘effects’ *have* taken place. Newspaper accounts of juvenile crime, and probably more important, newspaper accounts of more general juvenile fashions and behaviour patterns, may play a part in further disseminating such fashions and behaviour. To what extent is the Skinhead craze the result of media coverage of a few isolated groups (if it *is* a craze, of course – the researcher, like everyone else, turns first to the media, even if with a particularly jaundiced eye)? To some extent, no doubt, though one would like to know more about the particular processes involved. Indeed, it has been argued that the coverage given to adolescent groups by the mass media serves not merely to disseminate nascent fashions, but to intensify the kind of deviant behaviour involved. By describing Skinheads as violent, the newspapers may lead the police to *expect* violence from youngsters bearing the right identifying marks, and to act in such a way that the violence is in fact forthcoming. This violence is then again over-reported, and so the cycle continues with the behaviour becoming more extreme on both sides. And defiance on the part of adolescents may be matched by stiffer sentences from magistrates as well as sterner behaviour on the part of the police.

There is clearly room for more thought about and knowledge of the way particular adolescent groups are presented in the media – and this could include fictional presentations in films and television drama as well as news stories in the daily and weekly press. But our lack of information on this front only parallels our lack of adequate studies of how violence is in fact presented in the media. Traditionally, content studies in the United States have made numerical counts of the incidence of isolated acts of violence in television drama programmes (the average number of homicides per half hour segment, and the like). But such studies tell us little about the way in which violence forms part of a dramatic whole, or whether indeed the violence is dramatically justified at all. It is here that those approaching the media as popular arts have their part to play, for only by qualitative and aesthetically oriented studies of mass media content can we begin to understand how different kinds of people perceive violence and what kinds of meanings it has for them. Quantitative estimates of the mere *amount* of violence in different films might come

up with similar scores for *If . . .* and a stock Western: they clearly provide a very poor way of getting at the meanings, if any, which the director has given to the violent episodes. A similar argument applies to television material and to newspaper copy and headlines. Too many content analysis studies in the past have examined mass media output in a somewhat mechanical fashion and with too little regard to the preceding and following stages of the communication process. If we bring to bear on violent content a fully developed range of critical skills then we may well be in a better position to make intelligent guesses about why the violence came to be there in the first place, and how viewers and readers are likely to respond to it.

It is a truism that the mass media both reflect and shape social reality, and the proposition no doubt holds good in the case of violence. As we have seen, the links between real life violence and media violence are many and complex, but we must still be careful to guard ourselves against the danger of over-estimating the influence or importance of the media. The reasons why violent crimes, riots, demonstrations or wars take place are themselves many and complex, and the mass media are at best highly peripheral as instigating agents. Yet at the same time it is worth remembering that most of us do *not* have direct contact with any of these kinds of event, and are thus totally reliant on the media for our knowledge of what is going on (and supposedly 'entertainment' or 'fictional' material is no doubt as important here as what we like to think of as 'straight news'). In addition, the occurrence of violence is nearly always an indication that something is wrong, whether between two individuals or two countries. We should perhaps worry more about the extent to which we are properly informed about these underlying social problems, and less about the rather remote possibility of the direct imitation of violent behaviour.

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'NOT SO MUCH A PROGRAMME, MORE A WAY OF LIFE'

PETER M. LEWIS

'... and a way of looking at the world. One eye open wide, one eye closed. So between the two the picture gets composed.' The words of the theme song from an early BBC satire show referred to the attitude of the programme's writers and producer. Turned about and applied to an audience they happen quite neatly to sum up the attitude of the majority of our pupils to television as a whole. The fact that for them domestic telly-viewing is a way of life rather than an aesthetic experience makes things at once easier and more difficult for teachers.

In this article I want to try and argue that in the context of screen education too little attention is paid to television, and that, in the wider field of humanities teaching, study of the medium ought to find more of a place simply on the grounds of its being so large a part of the environment.

First, though; let me declare an interest, and admit to some axe-grinding. The interest is best described by saying that the two years teaching I did in London primary and secondary schools occurred between two spells of working in Independent Television for schools. I needed no convincing of the value of schools television, and not unnaturally took every opportunity to use it to supplement my own teaching. At the same time, having been involved, while working in television, in some attempts to explain television to children, I was interested in finding out to what extent critical attitudes could be encouraged by classroom reference to television in the context of secondary English or at any appropriate moment in the primary school day. To this extent therefore I was untypical, persisting more than one would expect others to, and, with contacts in the business, having access to some resources not generally available. Nevertheless I believe there are aspects of the work I attempted which might be adaptable in other contexts: hence this article.

The axe-grinding can be summed up in the question: 'What has happened to the T in SEFT?' said, courtesy (but not with the connivance) of the Editor of *Screen*, in a somewhat belligerent tone. Two years ago when I began my spell of London teaching I checked with SEFT and the BFI's Education Department on what was available in the way of documented experience in the field of 'television appreciation'. The answer was a mass of material on the use of film, almost nothing on television. Almost the sole exception was A. P. Higgins's excellent *Talking about Television*, published by the BFI in 1966. Higgins begins his book with the Newsom Report's comment on television as 'the most significant environmental factor that teachers have to take into account'. If *Screen* is any indication its significance still escapes the membership, while among teachers as a whole the signs are that a considerable number either write off this part of the environment as unworthy of notice or actively oppose it as a threat. But there must also be many teachers making use of television as I did, and it would be a pleasant counter to this article to find a rapid accumulation at 81 Dean Street of the kind of duplicated descriptions of courses on television which are already in existence for those working in film studies.

A recent very welcome development was a Conference of the London Association of Teachers of English (7th March 1970, Institute of Education, University of London) on the theme of 'Television: an alternative to literature?' A quotation from the Conference notice gives some idea of the scope of the discussion:

'How much do teachers of English know about the viewing habits of their pupils and their experience of television? How often does reference to TV come into our English lessons either from the pupils or from ourselves? Some teachers are now saying that television is a substitute for a similar kind of experience that reading is thought to provide. Does this matter? Perhaps it depends on how we see literature and how we understand culture. Some people suggest that TV is our contemporary literature in that TV is a source and exploration of experience and values. Certainly the range of TV coincides with many kinds of literature and in some ways it is even wider when we consider how news, documentaries, features, popular shows, all contain those elements of drama, storytelling and celebration for which we value literature. From another point of view, if we regard English as helping children's growth and development through language, through relating their experience, then should we include TV which is a real part of their social experience, in our English work?'

The answer to the last question was broadly speaking 'yes' and the

decision was taken to form a permanent study-group to co-ordinate work in this field among English teachers.¹

Arguments for studying a visual medium which makes comparisons with literature on the one hand and with literacy on the other are not new to those who have run film study courses. Why then do they not make more use of television?

First there is a massive practical reason. As Higgins puts it: 'Television can never be given the comprehensive and serious study it deserves until the teacher can draw on a very wide range of tele-recordings – of representative examples of television, as well as programmes of outstanding quality.'² There is of course no real substitute for an actual visual example in the classroom which teacher and class can share together and which allows discussion to take-off from the same point. The lack of such examples does not excuse inaction, however, and much can be done by relying on mutual memories of the previous evening's viewing as Higgins shows.

As far as 16-mm. filmed recordings go, the BFI hold some which are inevitably not of recent transmission. It is surprising how much demonstration film exists in the hands of producers who are often willing, if their time permits, to show it in a school. The pay-off for them is confrontation with a section of 'The Audience', an experience which can be sobering or refreshing but always an education. It is not often appreciated by those outside television how precious such contacts are to producers whose main access to audience reaction is in the figures and reports provided by Research departments.

Videotape recording has now become a practical and legal possibility, although the price of recorders and of tape will still put this facility out of reach of many schools for some years. The likely and logical starting points for work with VTR are in Colleges of Education and Teachers' Centres. It is important to check with the two broadcasting authorities the precise terms on which recording is allowed.³ Because of the complexity of the various rights involved, the broadcasting authorities have so far only succeeded in negotiating the right for teachers to record educational programmes. This for the moment must remain a frustration for those in screen education who will obviously hope that the recording of general evening programmes will not remain, as at present, illegal.

The fact that VTR of general programmes is impossible at the moment adds to the importance of what is transmitted during school time. Most obvious material for study are the school broadcasts themselves, a few of which as I mention below, deal specifically with screen education. Drama and dramatized programmes afford an

opportunity to discuss production techniques, scripts, acting and so on in relation to evening programmes. Filmed programmes or excerpts can similarly provide the basis for study of film and I have sometimes used programmes intended for a younger age-range with a class who can thus easily absorb the content and concentrate on the technique. Basically this is a prostitution of schools programmes which have quite different aims but one to which I have sometimes resorted in the absence of other visual material. However the very discipline of watching schools programmes for their proper purposes does have, I have noticed, some carry-over into general viewing and is therefore useful as screen education. In the classroom the children learn to adapt their viewing behaviour to a new context – a context in which casual attention is inappropriate, some response is required and most significant of all, the set is switched off after the programme. That television can be treated in this way is a new experience for some of them.

It is worth watching out for what happens after the school broadcasting term has ended. A number of interesting programmes are often slotted early in the afternoon before children's programmes begin. Outside broadcasts are usually concerned with events of such special significance that it is difficult (and one would not wish) to distract attention from the events themselves. I have found, however, following some classroom discussion of outside broadcasts, that it was possible to follow racing without getting carried away! And once for one very difficult class, some minutes spent watching a Test match provided a way in. Such 'occasional' use of television is rarely possible unless one has a television set in one's own classroom – a facility I never enjoyed, but a provision not all that unusual in the remedial departments of secondary schools.

Finally, in listing actual daytime transmissions of help in screen education, *Monday Newcomers* at 10.00 a.m. on ITV is useful. At this time all the week's new commercials are transmitted for the benefit of the advertising trade. Seeing a continuous succession of advertisements, some of which repeat themselves in slightly differing forms and lengths, one experiences an extraordinary mixture of dazed indigestion and cynical awareness as comparisons follow quickly on each other. Incidentally it is not generally known that examples of commercials on 16-mm. film are obtainable from the British Bureau of Television Advertising.⁴

There is then the practical difficulty of obtaining for use in the classroom visual extracts comparable to those one can use in the study of film. Enough ways round this difficulty exist to justify, I would claim, my charge that the difficulties partly explain but do not wholly excuse the neglect of television in screen education.

Another reason for the neglect may be the fact that in discussing last night's television programmes you are not dealing with a known classic, hired on 16-mm. film from the BFI, together with supporting bibliography and notes which dissect, analyse and compare. Half the time you may be forced to deal with something which not all the class saw and which no television critic has noticed. If a programme example has been brought up not in the context of the viewing you have tried to plan but incidentally by a pupil, you may not have seen it yourself. So critically, you are on your own with your opinions and those of the class and anything you want said or done must happen now, before the next evening's viewing drowns everyone's memories. This transitory quality of television makes it peculiar among the arts. Is it fair to say that among all of us teachers there lurks the feeling that if there is no hardback book on the subject it cannot quite be respectable? I believe that there is a trace of this psychological objection to television among the pessimists in screen education. Yet in some ways the lack of critical framework makes the task easier. There is no body of received opinion to reckon with. One simply has to watch television.

That is not of course as easy as it sounds. There are obvious practical difficulties in getting thirty pupils to watch the same programme on one evening. For a start the parents who control the switch must allow it. But the teacher who wants to lead his pupils to a greater critical awareness of television must do more than this. He must start on their ground and be familiar with what they watch, and this takes working at. Quiz programmes, children's cartoons, serials, horror films, even the weather forecast – nothing must be left out. That is to say, one should, I am suggesting, be familiar enough with the various *types* of programmes to know what the pupils are talking about. To do this need not take more time or effort than the ordering, study and screening of films or film extracts. That is to put it in a negative way. More positively, the amount of television our children absorb makes it an urgent necessity for teachers to face up to this part of their pupils' experience.

I think it is probably very hard for us – teachers, critics, screen educationists or simply people too busy to watch all evening – to appreciate the true nature of this experience. Certainly we can sample the types of programmes our pupils watch, but when we do so we are treating each programme as an individual entity and exercising our critical faculties on it: we may even be taking notes. Can we really grasp what it means to see television as most of the population see it: a flickering rectangle of grey in the corner of the living room which is watched with varying degrees of attention by different members of the family throughout the entire evening?

Occasional monitoring of an evening's ITV programmes is the nearest I have got to the experience myself, and even then I was attending to the programmes and taking notes, not letting them wash over me. The effect was mind-battering and in four years the only relief was some wrong sound with a commercial – a dubious joke in a comedian's pre-show warm-up hilariously mixed up with a staid Ministry ad on redeployment. But the normal accompaniment to living-room television – eating, reading newspapers, homework, chat, knitting, hobbies, playing with the dog and so on – means that many programmes are looked at 'with one eye closed' and six hours continuous viewing is no strain. Still, although I have the greatest respect for children's ability to attend to different aural and visual signals simultaneously (I think we as teachers tend to underestimate this ability) – one of the objects of accepting television as part of screen education and part of environmental studies is to try and encourage children to give more attention to some programmes, to question what they are given, take less for granted. This attitude to the physical environment may yet save the environment. Applied to television it might give us better television. There is a further point. Selective viewing may lead pupils to a positive enjoyment of the many good programmes which otherwise they might ignore.

Summing up the reasons why, I think, television does not feature more in screen education: practical difficulties of obtaining suitable visual material for classroom use, lack of critical body of knowledge, psychological block related to transience of medium, and lastly what one might call the 'sociological' difficulty of dealing with something which is part of a way of life (rather than an 'aesthetic' experience) and what is more, a way of life rather different from that of most teachers.

But I also charged 'a considerable number of teachers' with either indifference or hostility to the medium – attitudes not usually to be found among those convinced of the value of film in education. My grounds for saying this are based on the experience of explaining schools television to gatherings of teachers. Those who have used schools television know reasonably well what the producers are up to. If they have complaints they are usually related to administrative problems such as the timing of programmes and the lack of full detail in the teachers' notes. But for those who have never used school programmes there are often added to these administrative difficulties more general objections. 'They see too much of television at home' is one of the more common. If these objections militate against the use of school television, they are even more likely to prevent any discussion of general television taking place in class time.

What are the reasons for this attitude? Partly it is a suspicion of the

unknown. Unknown because a considerable number of teachers cannot afford television sets. Many have little time to watch even if they have access to a set – evening class work, marking, preparing lessons occupy their time. Next morning children – and their better-off colleagues – are talking about an experience in which they have not shared, over which they had no control. It is, of course, not ‘progressive’ to adopt an attitude which insists that all knowledge is dispensed by the teacher in the classroom, to feel threatened by other sources, but if this form of insecurity is fairly common (though unacknowledged among teachers), perhaps society has only itself to blame. That is a harsh judgment, based on no more than an impression. I am perhaps on firmer ground in suggesting that teachers as a whole share the suspicion I mentioned earlier of anything that is not print. Again, society as it expresses itself in the examination system, chooses its better pupils and hence its teachers by their ability to master print. ‘Visual literacy’ indeed is a fundamental social skill we have yet to define in a similarly tangible way let alone reward. Then, too, it must be admitted that much of what the majority of their pupils like is not to their teachers’ own taste: teachers are not a cross-section of society. They incline towards tougher, more demanding intellectual standards in programming, and are accustomed to making critical judgments of any aesthetic experience. It is precisely for that reason that they should be concerned with the medium and help their pupils towards a less uncritical acceptance of what they are offered. I am not suggesting they should bend their pupils’ tastes towards their own, only that they should bring them to realize that critical appraisal of what is offered is a possible response, and indeed an essential one if they (the pupils) wish (as they will often admit) standards to improve. And this in turn will enhance their enjoyment of the medium.

If one wishes pupils to adopt a less uncritical attitude towards television, I believe they must be led to understand its workings. If judgments are not to be naïve or idealistic they must be based on a knowledge of the limitations imposed on the medium by the facilities available, that is legal, organizational, financial, technical. Any course of ‘television study’ must cover these aspects of the medium, and the more I attempted explanations of these aspects, the more I became convinced of something which is a commonplace in any other kind of teaching and which is summed up in the saying which has become a Nuffield slogan, ‘I do and I understand’.

By ‘doing’ television I am simply suggesting an active involvement in the subject, not necessarily confined to the aspect of making programmes. Television is a vast undertaking with many different processes, many of which are touched on by children’s questions.

'Why do we have so much of X?' is the way into an examination of the schedules as publicly revealed in the *Radio and TV Times*. Invariably in my experience older secondary pupils complain that advertisements break up the ITV programmes (a complaint less heard among junior children). This leads through timing of advertisements and noting their frequency to an investigation of the financial basis of ITA and BBC. A pupil back from holiday has seen a programme none of us have seen in London. Most national papers print variations and study of these can explain the regional structure of ITV and networking. On one occasion some visiting American High School pupils were able to take one of my classes on a journey into the future: they were a year ahead of us in their episodes of *Peyton Place*. I did not interrupt the fascinated interrogation about plot and characters that developed, but it was possible later when talking of serials and film exchange to recall this for them.

One of the most interesting exercises from my point of view was far from original: a school survey of viewing preferences. Many schools undertake surveys, and no doubt find as I did that success is measured in the operation itself rather than the significance of the results. The work involved in preparing the questionnaire, picking a sample, interviewing the chosen 'candidates', totalling the results and attempting interpretations occupied a group of 5th-year English pupils most of that difficult period between the finish of CSE and the end of term. The increased confidence that came to two rather withdrawn pupils who worked successfully as an interviewing pair for me practically justified the whole exercise, and the tables of figures were a useful standby in subsequent terms for occasional exercises in interpretation.

The exercise was conducted at Acland Burghley School, London N.W.5, in the summer term of 1968. Tolerant colleagues teaching Middle and Lower School classes allowed a boy and a girl from each register to be called out for a ten-minute interview by pairs of 5th formers. In the event, the complicated time-table of a large comprehensive school and other end of term activities made it difficult to get the required sample in the time I had allowed myself so that in one sense the operation was a failure. This was a pity because believing that one must show the pupils who co-operate that their work has some point and relevance I had obtained the advice of Professor Himmelweit of the London School of Economics. With her help a list of points was drawn up which sought information about viewing habits which might be expected to have changed since her study was published in 1958.⁵ The questions were mainly aimed to find out the conditions of family viewing and to set the respondent's own viewing in the context of their other leisure interests. With the arrival

of a third channel since *Television and the Child* was published, Professor Himmelweit was interested in particular to find out how choice of programmes was exercised and who was responsible for it. In the event we were of little help in answering these questions, but this aspect of the exercise is perhaps the important reproducible element. No school is too far from a college, institute or university to get the help of an interested social scientist in framing a questionnaire which might possibly be instrumental in helping the expert to collect new data. Such a real-life link adds stimulus to the project.

'I do and I understand'. Most obviously this suggests making one's own television programmes. Closed circuit television is increasingly part of the equipment of colleges of education and in theory this should mean that it is not too remote a possibility that schools should be able to handle it. Remote or not, I have come to believe that handling television and making productions with it is essential to the full understanding of the medium.

This line of thought began some years ago in a primary school which I was visiting to watch the use made of a schools programme. There, as elsewhere, when in the after-programme discussion I invited questions, there were some about television. 'How does it come to our set?' one seven-year-old asked. I began an unrehearsed, over-complicated explanation, ending with the reception of the signal by the aerial '... and so down from the roof to your set.' 'You mean like Father Christmas?' It was not a send-up, and I began subsequently to turn over in my mind a better explanation. Technology is like sex: as soon as children can ask a question they should receive an answer on the same terms.

The explanation eventually came in a programme in the series *Finding Out* (age-range: about 7) on which I worked as Education Officer in the spring term 1967 (script: Peter Pickering, director: Richard Gilbert). In the event, we dodged the explanation of transmitting a signal and concentrated on the jobs people do in the studio, and the fact that there is a director who uses pictures from at least three cameras and often film to make a programme. Follow-up in the class I was visiting regularly that term took the form of acting out studio roles, using a broom for microphone boom, chairs for cameras and so on. Some children cut screen-shaped holes in cardboard boxes and fed in a strip-cartoon sequence of pictures. There was involvement, certainly, and interest but it was not as good an explanation of television as some others I have seen, I readily admit, and it would be appropriate at this point to mention these other programmes.

The best explanation of a television studio I have seen was when the

Blue Peter team used the resources of one of the BBC's largest studios to show themselves in operation (March 1968). This programme was subsequently translated into a useful little book *The Blue Peter Book of Television*.⁶

A couple of programmes in Rediffusion's *Preparing a Play* (age-range: 14 and over), first made in 1966 and repeated by Thames in autumn 1968, were perhaps the best explanation of the whole process from planning, through script conference to the final take.

Granada's series *The Messengers* (age-range: 14-17) is of course a series to be followed by anyone interested in screen education at this level, although its prime aim is not to make a contribution in film and television studies, but to use excerpts from film and television to provide a basis for topic work or discussion in the field of social studies.⁷ Incidentally, however, the programmes explain production, and a group of programmes specifically intended to show the production of a television play and a television documentary is a possible runner in ITV Schools for 1971/72.

On the BBC side, the most thorough-going explanation of television by school television was the excellent *Looking at Television* in the summer of 1963. This was unique in explanations at this level in making use of excerpts from currently screened evening programmes, an element that no doubt made a repeat showing difficult to negotiate. More recently *20th Century Focus* in the Spring term of 1960 included a unit of three programmes which discussed the medium in the light of McLuhan's philosophy.

Over seven years this is a thin list, and even where one is lucky enough to find one's teaching coinciding with one of the medium's rare attempts to explain itself, one is left with a feeling of 'so what?'. To brighter pupils, such explanations add another level of interest to their viewing, but tantalizingly leave them unable to follow up their knowledge. The next stage would be to make programmes. For less bright pupils something more concrete by way of explanation is needed.

Studio visits are almost impossible; tickets for audience shows allow one to see equipment in use. If London is within reach, the ITA's Television Gallery offers a well-designed explanation of the mechanics and organization of television.⁸

At this point, I have no teaching experience to back up my speculation. In search of 'concrete' explanation, I resorted to calling on friends and acquaintances in television to come and explain themselves (see below). They were so successful that they sowed seeds of serious doubt in my mind about whether the right people were doing

the teaching in the classrooms! Even so, what they provided was still, despite the involvement of discussion, a spectacle. What I believe is essential is the 'doing'. I rely on published accounts of children's performance with equipment at e.g. Oxhey Wood School, and I recall my own feelings when after some years in broadcasting, of carefully avoiding touching equipment out of deference to union rules, an ILEA ETV course gave me the opportunity to satisfy itching fingers.

Perhaps handling television is like playing with sand – an experience you must go through however late you come to it. With the play comes the realization of the potential and the limitations of the equipment, and you begin to build. And as your first buildings fall down you see the need for rules and discipline.

Am I seriously suggesting that we won't get a better-informed audience until we have trained a generation of amateur programme-makers? No, but I do suggest that it is not too impossible to think of a CCTV camera being at the disposal of the various departments in a secondary school, not just as a tool to serve the teaching but as a means of creative expression for pupils and staff alike. Already it is becoming common practice among the membership of NECCTA (National Educational Closed Circuit Television Association)⁹ to allow students to use the CCTV equipment to make their own programmes, and at least one college has shown their awareness that this means of expression could be made available beyond the campus to the local community.

The same conclusions – that practical experience makes more informed users – have been reached by many people working in the more specialist field of teacher use of school broadcasts. In 1966 Rediffusion invited groups of teachers to their Wembley studios to make 5-minute programmes which were then recorded by professional crews. Since then the spread of CCTV equipment has made this kind of operation relatively familiar and easier to arrange, but I still remember watching the effect on the group of teachers I was with in the 1966 conference, as they struggled to reach agreement and a final script within the allotted four hours. All that we in schools television had been trying to explain from platforms, with demonstration film, with diagrams, was as nothing compared with that direct and agonizing experience of the problem.

Despite the relative increase in available equipment it is still far from easy to arrange for its use by children or teachers, and unless there is time to allow the initial 'sand-play' stage to wear off, shot-gun acquaintance with equipment can be counter-productive. A possible substitute may be simulation which can be played by a group for a

couple of hours or so. I have experimented with various forms of 'networking' games for classroom use, and am preparing a simulation intended primarily for teachers. If this works, it should have a use in the wider field of screen education. One could envisage a 'planning game' and a 'production game' where the participants experience hazards and decisions based on actual cases.

It is perhaps worth recording, finally, the kinds of visitors from television whom I arranged to speak to 5th-year English pupils at Acland Burghley in the summer terms of 1968 and 1969. The situation of the school, not far from the centre of London and close to the Hampstead/Highgate area where many artists and communication people live, made this kind of course easy to arrange. But with the growth of local radio, with 15 regional ITV companies, and regional BBC centres, it is not all that difficult to lure speakers to schools almost anywhere in Britain. The bait, remember, is contact with those real people, the audience, the viewers. To leave it there is to be superficial and unjust to visitors who gave their time freely. In my experience there are very few people working in television who don't have a feeling of responsibility about the effect of their job on the community, and who therefore welcome a chance to discuss, justify, explain (or admit the shortcomings) to 'outsiders'. If the 'outsiders' are young people in a nearby school, they are especially glad to come.

Summer 1968 We began with a showing on film of the two Thames programmes from *Preparing a Play*. By the end of these, the group had been introduced to the idea of a team planning a production: script-writer, script editor, director, designer, casting director; lighting and cameras; filming and rehearsals and the final camera rehearsals and take. Then came a *freelance drama director*, who had worked on *Coronation Street* and *This Man Craig* among many other productions. (Before this he had worked on a primary school series with me which is when I came to know of his interest and skill in explaining things to children.) It was interesting to see how the questions of the group proceeded through unimportant technicalities to quite fundamental questions that transcended the subject and raised wider issues relating to careers, job satisfaction and so on. For example:

1. What happens if a cameraman's headphones don't work?
2. What about cameras appearing in vision?
3. Can you edit tape? How much editing is done?
4. What fees were paid to the pupils in *This Man Craig*?
Actors' fees. By what scale are actors paid?

(The fees seemed large to the children. From this emerged the insecurity of an actor's life.)

5. The future of actors in a long-running series.

6. What's it like being freelance . . . a career.

(Then followed a series of questions on the relationship between a director and his actors – mutual respect, interpretation of character, director's responsibility to look at the whole scene and play.)

The last drift of questioning needed to be satisfied and led to the arrangement of the next session where a *director* from the Royal Court Theatre and *two actors* demonstrated with improvised pieces what this relationship meant and how different styles were needed for the theatre and television

Next an *Outside Broadcasts Director* from Thames Television came with a film of the 1965 Derby. Later writing and discussion by the group showed that this session was one of the best remembered. In particular, the meticulous planning needed for a successful OB impressed the pupils.

A complete contrast next week was a double bill by two attractive young *production secretaries*, one working in ITV and one in BBC. Of course they were a great hit with the boys, and among the girls two effects were noticeable (neither of them startlingly new to those who use outside visitors in class): the casual mention of qualifications required by the job did more than months of exhortation by teachers and the realization that human beings work in the industry (and that girls can master technology).

Next week, one of the girls' husbands came along, with his 16-mm. 'Eclair' worth £3,000. This electrifying sum, when disclosed, started off a double chain of questions about the costs of the business and the personal pros and cons on earnings versus hours of work and holidays. (This top *freelance cameraman* had not had a holiday for 4 years.)

Finally, a *freelance script-writer* discussed his work. The economics (and the ethics) of living off £600 per series episode once again threw light on the background to programmes, and what is involved in choosing to live freelance. Perhaps more important was the realization, in hearing how ideas came to a writer, that writing was not just a school exercise, but a means of translating experience into form, and, with luck, producing a living. Professionals too have the moments of despair familiar to schoolchildren: Q: What is the worst time in writing a script? A: When I put a clean sheet of paper in the typewriter and type 'page 1'.

This course was haphazard in the sense that it depended on the practitioners who were available. As it turned out, however, it hung together surprisingly well, and proved a stimulating experience for us teachers as well as the pupils.

Less time was available in a similar course the following year for outside speakers. It was possible to arrange for the writer of a play screened the previous Saturday to answer questions the following week. (Even with this incentive not more than 30% of the group actually watched the play.) Refreshingly direct as ever, the group's first question was 'How much profit do you make?' From here questions led via repeats, and the different policy for repeats-on either channel, to some detailed criticism of the play itself. This led to a discussion of the compromises a television author must accept in the translation of his ideas to the screen.

'Who are you writing for – yourself or who?' 'Do you ever come to dead ends or have mental blocks?' This writer's reply was that his first draft was usually undisciplined, and then had to be shaped. 'The best writing is like a technical construction.'

On another occasion Stuart Hood answered questions from the point of view of someone who had been a senior planning executive for both broadcasting organizations. This was useful in picking up a number of questions which had been cropping up of the 'Why don't they . . .' variety. Censorship and influence of politicians on television were two of the chief issues raised.

I think the main lesson I myself learn from these two summer term courses has nothing to do with screen education or television. It is that when pupils are allowed to meet people who do a job and question them without inhibition (a warning of this is the only preparation I gave to the speakers) discussion catches fire, there is genuine interest and lessons are learnt of wider significance than the topic in question. As far as screen education is concerned, the jobs people do, their personal career problems and their own personalities come over as a healthy corrective to the technical and organizational aspects of television which otherwise I was in danger of over-emphasizing.

In the course of this article I have described or argued the case for classroom treatment of television in three different modes. First, casually as part of the environment it will be mentioned and dealt with as naturally as what happened at the weekend, how Arsenal did last night, what's wrong with school dinners or why the prefects are unfair. Second, television will figure among materials which illustrate themes, providing 'evidence' in the Humanities Curriculum project sense of the word, finding a place alongside poems, stories, pictures, personal writing, archive material and so on. The bulk of television useful in this sense will be evening television and, until recording of non-educational programmes is legalized, will have to be recalled by memory. Some school television series will certainly be helpful in

this area: e.g. Thames Television's *Ways With Words*,¹⁰ ATV's *Rules, Rules, Rules*,¹¹ and BBC's *Scene*.¹² Third, every now and then it will be appropriate to make a frontal approach and deal with television systematically, either in the form of a project for an individual or a group, or for a whole class for a time as limited as a week or as long as a term.

I have made much of the need to develop in children some awareness that critical standards should be applied to what they watch in such large quantities. Perhaps I should have made more of the point that this branch of Screen Education should not fail to enhance their pleasure and understanding of television. It is indeed crucial that there should be understanding. As 1976 approaches, when the Television Act and the BBC's Charter are due to expire, broadcasters are already beginning to debate what changes should occur. It is vital that the public understand and join in this debate. I fear that SEFT is not doing enough to promote discussion of television and I hope I am proved wrong by a flow of descriptions of practice more organized than mine.

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YOUNG CHILDREN AND TELEVISION: SOME SELECTED HYPOTHESES AND FINDINGS

GRANT NOBLE

Over the last three years I have attempted to research systematically the ways in which young children react to television. Why has this research been done? I was first attracted to television research because I regularly viewed television in the company of young children. A number of instances remain vividly in my memory. I frequently watched *Thunderbirds* in the company of two brothers aged five and six years. Inevitably, when the advertisements appeared in the middle of the programme, the five-year-old would ask me 'is that the end?' His six-year-old brother (being an experimentalist at heart) would frequently say 'yes' and the five-year-old would start off up the stairs to bed, only to reappear when his brother did not follow him. On other occasions, the six-year-old, tired of this game, would reply, 'Of course not, stupid - they have not rescued the trapped people yet!' It seemed to me that the five year old had no notion of the story that *Thunderbirds* was laboriously telling, and yet his six-year-old brother did have a conception of the story.

On a second occasion, I was watching cartoon films with the same two boys. The six-year-old, when watching a cartoon dog rowing along in an inflatable rubber raft, suddenly shouted, 'I know what is going to happen, I know what is going to happen – the raft will be punctured and the air will come out quickly and the raft will shoot off across the lake.' Sure enough, within ten seconds of this utterance, these events did take place and the six-year-old was beside himself with joy. Once again I obtained the impression that the six-year-old is able to make predictions about the outcome of a television film, and further that six-year-olds will seek out and watch those sorts of television programmes in which the outcome is predictable so that their speculations about the ending will be confirmed.

Why should children of different ages respond so differently to the same television programmes? Firstly, it would appear that children of different ages *use* television in very different ways. Katz (1959) has argued the need to concentrate attention less on what the media do to people than on what people do *with* the media. The 'uses' approach assumes that people's interests, their values and their social roles are pre-potent, and that people selectively 'fashion' what they see and hear to these interests. What qualities in the younger child are likely to be prepotent as regards televiwing? Piaget has suggested that chronological age, above all other factors, critically determines the ways in which young children respond to their environments. It would seem reasonable to suggest that chronological age will also determine the ways in which children react to television. I have, therefore, attempted to systematically relate Piaget's developmental theories to the ways in which children of different ages respond to the same television programme.

My second reason for conducting systematic research of this nature is to speculate on the basis of the obtained results as to what sorts of television programmes should be produced for the younger child. As we shall see, results suggest some intriguing programme possibilities which might be profitably adopted by the producers of programmes for young children. I shall have more to say about this later, meanwhile let us briefly examine Piaget's work concerning the child's cognitive development. Piaget's life work has been concerned with the evaluation of the various ways in which children of different chronological ages both think about and perceive their environments. Contrary to the notion that children are 'little adults', Piaget has pointed the way to the conception of the child's world as very different from the adult's notion of the world. Both Piaget and Freud argue that it is difficult for adults to comprehend the ways in which the young child sees the world. At a certain stage in development, children begin to think as do adults, but prior to this stage

children think in very different ways to adults, and further, these ways are lost to the child when he grows up.

Piaget argues that the child progresses through four major stages in intellectual development. From birth until about eighteen months is the sensory-motor period. According to Piaget, the infant starts with unco-ordinated impressions from different senses so that the infant cannot distinguish between sensory stimulation and his own reflex responses to such stimulation. Piaget refers to this mode of thought as egocentrism, whereby the child conceives of himself as the centre of events and as causal in all occurrences which surround him. The process of distinction between internal events and external events proceeds slowly so that during the rest of the sensory-motor period, the child gradually achieves sense and motor co-ordination. Thus the child learns to move his arms in a non-random manner and is able to reach out for, and touch objects which are distant from him but which are visible to him.

In the second major stage, the pre-operational thought stage (from on average, eighteen months to six/seven years), the achievements made in the sensory-motor stage are repeated at a symbolic and verbal level. Starting at a point where a child can envisage objects which are not visible – and will look for a ball if it is hidden – the child learns that words can symbolize those objects and language can be further developed to express relationships between himself and other objects.

However, because of egocentrism in thought, the child is likely to think in binary ways during the pre-operational thought stage. The child cannot group or sort objects on the basis of the common characteristics attributed to them by adults. The child classifies, we might think, in ways which are incomprehensible to us. Two objects such as an apple and a key are seen as similar because they are together in a particular space, or because he saw them both together. Perhaps the most clear example of such binary thought is given by the problem of serialization. If children are asked to place a number of rods of different lengths into order, from smallest to longest, the pre-operational thought child will compare every rod with every other rod. These children will compare many pairs of rods until the task is done. A child in the concrete operations stage (aged six/seven to eleven/twelve years) will immediately select the shortest rod in the whole group, followed in turn by the second smallest rod and so on. This latter child is, therefore, able to cope with concepts such as largest and smallest whereas younger children cannot. Children aged three to five years are, therefore, likely to perceive no shades of grey in television characters, who will be perceived as either all good or all bad.

During the pre-operational thought stage the child, because he thinks egocentrically, is unable to perceive events from any other point of view but his own. Children during this stage, therefore, cannot fully differentiate between internal experiences, such as dreams, and external experiences, such as television. The young child believes that his dreams are in the room where everybody can see them. With regard to television research, it would appear that young children will consider that television is terribly real, because the child believes that television programmes, like dreams, are part of his inner experience. In extreme cases it is likely that these children will imagine that television characters are their friends and will come to talk with them at night. Piaget's concept of the young child's egocentric thought should lead one to expect that young children will believe what they see on television, in part because it is impossible for them to imagine that people are capable of acting dramatic parts. Similarly, both puppets and cartoon characters are likely to be thought of as alive and real. Evidence will be presented here which supports such a view. However, not all children in the pre-operational thought stage react in the same way to television, since the child gradually grows less egocentric in thought as he progressively grows older during this stage. Consequently the child's belief that everything seen on television is real will progressively decrease as he grows older and gradually distinguishes between reality and fantasy.

The young child's egocentric thought should lead to a point of view whereby the child can very easily imagine that either he or his friends are involved in the television programmes. If the young child is unable, in technical terms, to distinguish between events which take place within him and events which take place independently of him, then that child is likely to think that he is involved in television presentations. A slight paradox enters the argument here; many authors argue that young children identify with television characters. When a person identifies with a television character it is thought that he lives through the experiences of that character in that particular film. Now, should the child be unable to admit to any standpoint other than his own, it would seem reasonable to expect that the young child will put himself in the film alongside the other characters rather than viewing events through the eyes of one of the film heroes. As will be seen, evidence to support this latter view is available.

In addition, children in the pre-operational thought stage cannot reverse the constituents in a chain of reasoning. Perhaps this inability is best reflected in Piaget's famous jug and water experiments. If two identical jugs are filled to the same level with liquid and then poured into a short fat jug and a long thin jug, the child will deny that there

is the same amount of liquid in the fat as in the thin jug. It is argued that the reason for this is that the child concentrates his attention only on one perceptual aspect of the liquid, namely its height or its width, and if these differ the amounts of liquid are thought to be different. Further, it is argued that if the child cannot *reverse* the operation – that is the child cannot imagine what would happen if the liquid was poured back from the thin and the fat jugs to the original identical jugs – he is unlikely to admit that the amounts of liquid in the two jugs are the same. If the young child is unable to reverse operations he has seen, it would seem reasonable to expect that the young child will not perceive that the story of a film will have a beginning, a middle and an end. Hence, the young child is unlikely to have many ideas concerning the plot seen in a television film. Piaget argues that there are inherent limitations on development at each stage which are partly due to the stage of maturity of the individual's nervous system. We can, therefore, expect that some quite dramatic differences will be noted in the plot comprehension of five- and seven-year-old children to the same television programme.

At approximately six/seven years, the child commences to think as does an adult. Miller (1962) has labelled this transformation a 'cognitive revolution', which many critics consider to be too dramatic a description of this transformation. The stage which lasts from six/seven to eleven/twelve years is called by Piaget the concrete operations stage. The word 'concrete' is deliberately emphasized because Piaget argues that children of these ages can only cope in adult ways with events and problems which are immediately before them. Children of these ages cannot solve hypothetical problems which are described verbally or other problems which are not concrete. A child can, between the ages of six/seven to eleven/twelve years, deflect a billiard ball from a cushion into a pocket, but he cannot visualize a solution to such a problem if presented to him diagrammatically, nor can he describe the reason as to why he hit the billiard ball at a particular place on the cushion in order that it should rebound into the pocket. Children aged eleven years and over can express the answer to this problem in words, and will point out that the angle of deflection is equal to the angle at which the ball hits the cushion. The six/seven-year-old child will, however, admit that the same amount of liquid is present in two differently shaped jugs because he is now able to mentally *reverse* the pouring operation. Indeed, the six/seven-year-old child can cope with most problems which are immediately before him. It is only in the formal operations stage (twelve years and older) that the child is able to reverse hypothetical rather than concrete operations. Further, it is only during adolescence that operations become completely abstracted from all concrete

instances and formal logical arguments, to which facts are less relevant, can be conducted. As might be imagined, children in the concrete and formal operation stages show marked progress in the understanding of television programmes. Due to a lack of space, such progress is not mapped out here. In the book, *Children and Television* such progress is mapped out in detail, since I have chosen here to concentrate on four- to eight-year-olds' reactions to television.

Let us now examine the available research evidence in the light of the three broad hypotheses outlined above; namely that children aged up to five years, (a) will perceive television characters as either all good or all bad, (b) will confuse the reality and fantasy of television programmes, and (c) will not understand the story of a television film. Firstly, is there any evidence that the television experiences of the under sixes are more binary than those of children aged seven and older? We have already cited the evidence of the two brothers watching *Thunderbirds*, and it would seem that their experiences of the same programme were very different. In a remarkable and unobtainable study (which I report second hand) by Gomberg (1961), the reactions of four-year-olds to television programmes were assessed. She systematically recorded all the play perceptibly influenced by television shown by fifty-six four-year-old children in three different play school centres in New York. When talking to these four-year-old children, a number of conceptions of the television world became apparent. Some of the four-year-olds' binary conceptions of television are listed below:

1. The people on television are either all good or all bad.
2. All the cowboys are good people.
3. All the Indians (except Tonto) are bad.
4. All the men in the army are good.

Such opinions, which Gomberg maintains are generally accepted, indicate that young children conceive all television characters in black and white terms. As is to be expected from Piaget's work, children's reactions are likely to be of an all-or-none character. In other words children of four years (and indeed many older children) will perceive no shades of grey, no conflict between the hero's desire to catch rather than kill the villain. Such conceptions lead on to some very interesting specific misconceptions, which were less widely held by the four-year-olds studied by Gomberg such as:

1. Bad people bleed, but not good people.
2. A sheriff may not be caught.
3. The good guy wears a white hat or rides a white horse, and the bad man wears black or rides a black horse.

4. A bad man never does anything that is good.
5. The job of cowboys is to kill bad people or Indians.

It is debatable whether such conceptions are restricted purely to four year-olds. One's impression is that many of these conceptions are shared by both film producers and comic illustrators. Detailed questioning of adults may lead to the discovery of similar misconceptions in their minds. More sinister, though, is the carving of the world into black and white, and more sinister still are the unfavourable opinions that young children have of the 'black' characters. Society may perhaps question the right of both the comic authors and the television producers to encourage and perpetrate such conceptions. Perhaps the most dangerous of these conceptions are those relating to aggression. For example, Gomberg reports the following common conception of aggression:

1. All the good people have to kill the bad people.
2. You can't really talk to a bad guy – you must shoot him.
3. All the heroes kill only the bad guys.
4. A gun means you are strong.
5. Only the good guys should have a gun.
6. The bad guys always started the fight.
7. All quarrels between good and bad guys end in killing.
8. Settling quarrels with a gun was neither good nor bad – it was how everybody did it.

Such notions led to some conceptions specifically held by certain children which were of similar interest:

1. If bad people try to hurt you, call your mother and she will get a gun and kill him.
2. Every good person loves little children. To protect children, he must kill the bad people.
3. Dynamite is used to blow up a country or to kill bad people.
4. Policemen ride in airplanes and police cars and kill the bad robbers and Indians.
5. When in trouble, call Superman.

Once again television has given children a view of the world where aggression, and usually death, is seen as the normal method for resolving conflict. Granted that children's ways of thought develop considerably, there is still a danger that these modes of thought will persist in later life. A very large number of adults watch similar television programmes as do four-year-olds, a habit which possibly reflects on a desire to return to childhood accompanied, perhaps, by those conceptions of the world which Freud correctly labelled 'predicate' – mere association between two overtly similar characteristics, i.e. that black is bad and that red hair indicates a firesome temper.

Four-year-olds equate black with 'badness' and white with 'goodness', and unless such conceptions are later changed these residual associations may persist and may not aid, for example, race relations. The danger, if such it be, is accentuated since few of us can remember how or what we thought in childhood. According to many theorists, including Freud, these experiences are later likely to shape our whole personalities. One of the aims of psychoanalysis is to relive many of the critical experiences that the young child has with his parents. We just don't know whether the young child's experiences of television are as critical – one suspects not. However, it would seem safer for television producers to err on the side of caution. This is particularly true for children aged up to five or six years, because the adult cannot remember how the world appeared to him before the cognitive revolution. Memories stored in terms of the childhood concepts became almost inaccessible after such revolutions; therein lies the source of much of our childhood amnesia, our inability to recall our earliest experiences. Should Gomberg be right, we are storing some conceptions of the world derived from television which we perhaps should not store.

It is interesting to note that the children Gomberg talked to were largely obsessed with guns. The BBC code of violence dictates that violence involving guns is more acceptable than violence involving hands and knives. If aggression involving hands or knives were shown, it is possible that viewers would see a greater build-up to the final aggressive act, and further may see the consequences of aggression in more detail than a man simply falling down when shot. If we are to inform children as to both modes of aggression and consequences of aggression, a good case can be put for reversing the BBC codes and banning, for example, aggression involving weapons such as guns. If children see the consequences of aggression as well as the 'horror' of seeing aggression involving knives, they may be less inclined to view such aggression as either fun or as the natural method by which conflict is resolved. Similarly, realistic fights rather than cowboy fights may well show children the actual consequences of fighting. An individual hit hard in the stomach should, perhaps, gasp and lie on the floor for a while instead of springing back to break a balsa-wood chair over his antagonist's head.

While in favour of attempts to make experimental television programmes as outlined above, more research data is necessary before such programmes can be screened with complete confidence. More than one Gomberg study is certainly required, as are journals prepared to publish such non-statistical material. Too often journals only publish studies which employ the most sophisticated methodology and yet merely present findings which are either obvious or for

which the relevance to real-life problems is, at least, tenuous. Journals don't seem yet prepared to publish studies like Gomberg's which employ casual methodology and yet present data which more directly 'tap' the real world.

Gomberg found television-inspired play varying in amount from 11 per cent of all play in one centre, to 60 per cent in another. About 54 per cent of all the four-year-olds showed some television influence in their play. Amongst other roles enacted in the dramatic play of four-year-olds were Lone Ranger, Mickey Mouse, Popeye, Sheriff, Spectator at TV Shows, Superman, Tonto and Television Weather Man. Gomberg comments that television gave the children a common element for social play. However, even children's play reflected binary thinking – in that wherever a television symbol was used, the play took on a stereotyped character. They used their equipment in a set and stereotyped way, they walked or ran in a set manner. The children spoke in stereotyped phrases. 'Whatever their background, there was, because of television, a commonality to their play,' commented Gomberg. As Piaget has commented, prior to the age of six and seven years, understanding between children occurs only where there is contact between two identical mental schemas already existing in each child. The egocentric child cannot seek or find in the other child's mind some basis on which to build a conversation. Television, it would appear, provides different children with identical mental schemas which enhance the possibility of co-operative play.

The second hypothesis suggested that young children will believe what they see on television as real and true. Older children will be less likely to believe what they see on television, because they are more able to delineate fantasy from reality. Such a hypothesis essentially states that the older child will be less egocentric in thought than the younger child. Once again Gomberg provides some evidence which supports this suggestion. One popular conception held by four-year-olds was that 'if it is on television, it is correct'. Similarly, Schramm *et al* (1961) point out that 'to young children, television is terribly real (page 162)'. If children are unable to delineate between experiences which take place inside them, such as dreams, and the experiences of the external world, such as television, they are likely to believe, to some extent, that they are part and parcel of the television programmes they watch. One or two examples might help to make this point clear. Gomberg cites evidence of two children who were, in her opinion, particularly confused about the reality of the characters they watched. To one child, Superman was more than a make-believe character, he was a hero, a champion and the man she would eventually marry. She said of him:

'Superman comes to visit me all the time. He brings me presents. He brings me a sewing machine, and he brings me a teddy bear and ice cream, and he takes me flying wherever he goes. He always kisses me goodnight and then I go to bed.'

Gomberg found this girl was a lonely child and she had incorporated Superman into her fantasy as other children incorporate imaginary companions. Similarly, the small boy who believed only bad people bled, said when he cut his finger as he became hysterical, 'I'm not bad, I'm not bad, I can't bleed.' Clearly neither of these children were delineating with clarity between their inner and external worlds.

Such confusions are not limited only to four-year-olds. Himmelweit *et al* (1958) describes the case of Henry, a nine-year-old, only child of working-class parents. Henry was of average intelligence but was nervous, diffident and backward at school. Henry relished the fact that Dragnet stories were true, insisted that there really was a Dixon of Dock Green and at least half believed in the fantasy of Superman. Confusions at this level amongst older, and it must be said usually maladjusted, children are, in my experience, surprisingly frequent. Miss Sue Kind of Crescent Junior School, Leicester, has brought two similar examples to my attention. One ten-year-old boy with no friends in school, but with a large number of elder brothers, threatens to attack the other children in his class. He maintains that he has a tin of spinach with him all the time, and threatens to eat it prior to attacking another child. His description of the previous weekend, written in school on Monday, is dominated by Popeye, who he claims, he has played with each weekend. A second ten-year-old girl recently watched *Hawaii Five-O*. The episode depicted a man who murdered his family, and in order to avoid blame, stabbed himself. This girl went out to play at 10.30 p.m. and returned having cut herself, but she claimed that her brother had inflicted this wound. (Should critics claim that television has purely detrimental effects, it must be pointed out that this girl had a long history of masochistic incidents. When previously threatened by her teacher, she exclaimed that she would pull off her ear-lobe by tearing at her ear-ring, and run home and tell her parents that the teacher had pulled the ear-ring.) Clearly neither child was fully able to recognize television drama programmes as fantasy, but believed in what they saw, to the extent that television characters were part and parcel of their everyday lives. Such confusions are less common amongst 'normal' children aged seven years and above, but are an integral part of the four-year-olds' relationship with television.

In the course of my work I have talked to many children about television. In one particular instance I showed five-year-old children a cartoon film called *Scarecrow* in which a cartoon cat attempts to

steal a bird's egg and later attempts to catch a baby bird. When I asked the children to tell me what had happened in the film, one five-year-old boy said, 'I smacked the cat' and another five-year-old replied, 'but you can't get on the film!' The first five-year-old boy refused, however, to be corrected and insisted that he, in fact, smacked the cat. Here is a clear example of the child confusing events in his own imagination with the events which occurred in the film. Moreover, this child had not identified (in the traditional sense) with a film character but had inserted himself into the action of the film. However, age is not the only determinant of such confusion, as Gomberg has hinted, and a lonely child is more often than a gregarious child with many friends, to confuse internal and external realities.

In order to place these case-study results on a more systematic footing, I have asked children who have just seen puppet films whether they thought the films were real or not. The method used in this respect was inevitably crude; children were asked to say whether the film was real or not real, true or false and whether or not puppets could behave in real life as they did in the film. Five-year-olds, more often than eight-year-olds, said that the films just seen were real and true. The child's belief that the films seen were real, progressively decreased as the child grew older.

Piaget's concept that children cannot reverse operations prior to the concrete operations stage, would lead one to suggest that children aged up to and including five years of age do not understand the story of a film. A number of writers have commented on this inability.

Gerhardt-Franck (1955) studied the reactions of six- to fourteen-year-old German children to the ten-minute puppet film *Town and Country Mouse*. The children were asked to recall the story of the film and the order, quantity and type of material remembered were analysed for each age group. The author concluded that the six-year-olds, in comparison with older children, seemed to sense the film as a series of separate episodes, which were perceived as unrelated to each other. The six-year-olds remembered the scenes of familiar activities – like dressing and eating, but showed no awareness of the chronological sequence of the scenes. Similarly, the Zazzos (Rene and Bianka), who have shown films to six- to twelve-year-old French children, conclude that before the age of seven, the child understands almost nothing of a film, but is interested in the separate incidents which occur during the film. These authors, in the continental tradition, rarely present figures to substantiate their conclusions. In a study of mine sponsored by the Prix Jeunesse organization an attempt was made to systematically examine how well children aged five to eight

years could retell the story of a fifteen-minute puppet film. This involved showing forty children (ten at each of the ages five, six, seven and eight years) a Prix Jeunesse prize-winning puppet film. The film studied was a Swedish animated puppet film entitled *Patrick and Putrick*. The film won the Prix Jeunesse prize in the entertainment category for display to children aged four to seven years, and has since been shown on BBC Television (July 1968). A brief description of the film may be appropriate here. The central characters in the film are two puppets named Patrick and Putrick. They awake from their sleep in shoes and proceed to look for something to eat. Since they find no food, they attempt to make some dough, during which they become covered in flour and other ingredients. Once the dough is made they cut it into biscuits (and puppet shapes) and place it in the oven. When the biscuits are removed from the oven they are found to be inedible, but not dismayed the puppets nail the biscuits to the shoes and turn the shoes into racing-cars. The film has no verbal soundtrack but is accompanied by a lively musical score.

French colleagues kindly worked out the order of incidents which comprised the script of this puppet film. It was found that 127 incidents were enacted during fifteen minutes. Each child was individually interviewed immediately after he had seen the film and was asked to tell the story to the best of his ability. This account was tape-recorded so as not to disturb the child when telling the story. Each story was then analysed and a number of scores were derived in this analysis. Firstly a count was made of the number of incidents each child mentioned during recall. Five-year-old children recalled, on average, six incidents. Six-year-old children recalled an average of eleven and a half incidents whereas seven- and eight-year-olds both recalled twelve and a half incidents. These figures indicate that whereas the six-year-olds' answers were similar to those of the seven- and eight-year-olds, six year olds' answers were not like those of the five-year-olds. Five-year-olds recalled half as many incidents (5 per cent) than children aged six to eight years (10 per cent). These Prix Jeunesse results are somewhat unique in that the incidents listed in the film script were available. The exact amounts recalled by the child could, therefore, be very accurately estimated as regards the 'story' of the film as listed by the film producers.

With regard to young children's comprehension of the story of a film, rather than the child's ability to simply list incidents seen, a second score was calculated. For each child who saw *Patrick and Putrick* the number of sequences recalled in order was estimated. According to the film script, seven separate sequences were presented, and a score was derived for each child of the number of these sequences recalled in the correct order. Five-year-olds recalled, on

average, only one and a half sequences in the correct order, whereas six-, seven- and eight-year-olds all recalled three and a half incidents in the correct order. This result may indicate that six-year-olds are capable of understanding the interaction between scenes, although Franck and Zazzo have suggested that they are unable to do so. Results also suggest that the five-year-old is incapable of tracing the plot back to the beginning and does not perceive the 'story' line of a film, whereas six- to eight-year-old children do understand the story line of a film. It is interesting to note the suddenness with which plot comprehension develops, namely it appears that at five years the child cannot understand the plot when reported verbally, whereas at six years he can. Such results indicate firstly that more detailed research into reactions of five- and six-year-olds to television is necessary, and secondly, that the term 'cognitive revolution' (as used by Miller) may not be inappropriate.

However, it must be remembered that we are asking a great deal of five-year-olds, when we ask them to tell us the story of a film. Since a young child has a very limited vocabulary he may not be able to recount all he has remembered or understood about a film. It is therefore useful to administer non-verbal tests of recall if this is possible. In the *Prix Jeunesse* study children were given a set of five photographs representing the various stages of plot development in the film. Children were asked to put these photographs into the order in which the events in the film took place. A score was derived for each child of the number of photographs correctly sequenced, making due allowance for guesswork. Five-year-olds placed only 1.20 photographs in the correct order, whereas six-year-olds placed 2.10 photographs in the correct order and seven- and eight-year-olds placed 4.70 photographs in the correct order. These results suggest that the five-year-old has no notion of the plot, the six-year-old has a limited notion of the plot whereas both seven- and eight-year-olds understand the plot tolerably well. Indeed, statistical testing revealed that the seven- and eight-year-old scores were significantly higher (and could not have occurred by chance) than those of the five- and six-year-olds. These results are in accord with those of Franck and Zazzo, and suggest that six-year-olds, like five-year-olds, are unlikely to fully comprehend the 'story' of a film. Such data also suggests that the abilities to understand a film's story do not, perhaps, develop as suddenly as was previously thought.

However, further analysis revealed that the results from the photograph-sequencing task (Franck and Zazzo base their assertion that six-year-olds do not understand films on the basis of photograph sequencing tasks) may not give valid data. Each child in the *Prix Jeunesse* study was presented with five photographs of *Patrick and*

Patrick (from various scenes in the film) and five photographs from other puppet films. Children were asked which of the photographs were from the film they had just seen. Five- and six-year-olds were only able to recognize an average of two of the five *Patrick and Putrick* photographs, whereas seven- and eight-year-olds correctly recognized all five of the *Patrick and Putrick* photographs. If young children are unable to recognize photographs from the film just seen, data from the photograph-sequencing task must be invalid. On the basis of this argument, it would appear that it is the six-, rather than the seven-year-olds, who first understand the story of a film.

In a further study of five- and seven-year-olds' comprehension of film stories, a third method of discovering whether children understood the story was used. Children were shown an eight-minute cartoon film, *Scarecrow*, described previously, but the film was stopped as naturally as possible after four minutes. The film was stopped at a critical moment, i.e. when the cat was about to catch the small bird. Children were then asked whether that was the end of the film, and if so, how they knew it was the end. Most of the five-year-olds interviewed were not sure whether the film had ended or not, but six- and seven-year-olds were sure that it was not the end. When asked what they thought would happen next, none of the dozen five-year-olds interviewed were able to suggest anything. Similarly, when asked why they didn't think it was the end, five-year-olds replied, 'It has broken down,' rather than suggesting that something else was to happen. Many of the six- and seven-year-olds were able to suggest what might next happen in the film. When the rest of the film had been shown, children were again asked if it was the end. They all agreed that it was, but whereas six- and seven-year-olds said that the cat had been punished and the baby bird had escaped unharmed, five-year-olds said it was the end because they had seen the 'writing' (the credits). Eyre-Brook (1970), who replicated the above study with a larger sample of five- and eight-year-old children, found that 30/39 five-year-olds thought the Scarecrow film had ended at the film break. Somewhat surprisingly, she also found that 16/38 eight-year-old children also thought the film had ended when it was stopped. Results suggest that five-year-olds do not comprehend the story of television films, although we know that they watch television extensively. Schramm *et al* have reported that at the age of three years, children typically watch television for about forty-five minutes on each weekday. By the age of five years, the child views something like two hours a day and children aged six to twelve years watch an average of two to two and a half hours television per day. What exactly do three-, four- and five-year-old children see on television? In all probability it would appear that these children merely see a

series of separate incidents. One might indeed ask why young children watch television, but no doubt it forms part of their lives as do all other childhood experiences. I am prepared to suggest that young children will watch whatever is on the television screen, because of the fascination of moving images in unusual situations. We may well ask the question whether television producers provide a sufficient variety of programmes for the young child who may be watching because of the novelty of the experience. At five years, a good case can be put to make the experience even more fascinating, by showing random film clips designed to portray events as realistically as possible. If young children do not understand the film plot, why should films be made for them which contain plots? Indeed, if physical maturation determines whether or not a child thinks egocentrically, television producers should perhaps cater for such egocentricity and present to the child realistic flashes of the world in all its aspects, instead of the cartoon fodder to which so many American and English children are subjected.

Elliott (1970) in a European survey of television production agencies discovered that the children's television departments were considered as the 'Cinderella's' of these agencies. As Elliott and Halloran put it, most of the institutions report that they provide more of the non-entertainment types of programme for older children, but that children under seven years are regarded as an audience for light entertainment and variety. Television programming and producing for the under-sevens should involve more, rather than less resources than for older groups. Data presented above suggests that some of the programmes made for the under-sixes should be of a completely different type to those transmitted for older children. It is tolerably clear that the television producers (regarded by the agency chiefs as in the best position to decide what is good and suitable for children) conceive of the young child as a miniature adult, who because he is young should be fed only the adult 'pap' rather than the meat. Many programmes for the under-sevens are probably made in this country to appeal to the child's mother and consequently take little account of the unique world that the young child experiences. Collage programmes showing different societies at work and play might, if presented creatively, enrich the world of the young child as well as present a realistic picture of the world. Plots and stories should be forgotten, in at least some programmes, and incidents presented which are respectively exciting and realistic such as motor-racing, moon-shots and making steel. Surely there are enough creative producers available to make such programmes, which might even supersede the cartoon.

Cartoon fantasy programmes may, however, also satisfy the

develop mental needs of the young child. Wolfe and Fiske (1949) have suggested that for normal children comic reading is a means of ego-strengthening. The comics provide 'an authority and power which settles the more difficult or ultimate issues, enabling these children to perform their daily tasks without too much anxiety'. Some fantasy television programmes satisfying such needs must, therefore, be shown. I am not arguing that all such fantasy programmes should be replaced by realistic collage programme. I perceive a need for both types of programme. To some extent collage programmes (*Blue Peter*, *How, Magpie, Banana Splits* and *Play School*) are already popular. However, one doubts that many of these programmes are made specifically for the under-sevens. Collage programmes provide a relatively cheap way of attracting a mass audience, since one of the 'items' is likely to appeal to at least one section of the audience. Many of these collage programmes do, however, present realistic items rather than stylistic or fantasy items. Should the results presented here be correct, then one doubts the validity of story programmes, such as *Jackanory*, which are made specifically for the under-sevens. A note of caution must, however, be sounded. The small studies reported here would need to be duplicated with various children and with various films (both long and short), before we can be certain that we can make the above generalizations from the limited results currently available.

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SERVICING THE FILM TEACHER

PADDY WHANNEL

In many ways we are at a turning point in the history of the Film Education Movement. In the seventies it will move decisively out of its pioneering phase into a period when the outlines of its discipline will emerge more clearly and the study of film, once dependent upon the individual's private enthusiasm, will receive more public and institutional support. It is therefore an appropriate time to take stock and to review the work and resources of the BFI Education Department in the light of the needs of the movement as a whole.

As the services of the Department in particular and the Institute in general are vital to Film Education it is important that those engaged in teaching film, in whatever context and at whatever level, should make their needs and views known. The notes that follow are intended as a framework for this to take place and to elicit a response from as wide a range of teachers as possible who it is hoped will not only comment on existing services and ways in which they might be improved or extended but on the more theoretical questions which lie behind the practical problems. Given its purpose, this article will inevitably cover ground familiar to many readers and to a large extent will be a summary of points made in previous reports. But there is value in this. In a young movement there is a constant need to reassess objectives, to try to crystallize issues and define problems just that much more clearly. It has been said that the teacher of film is in the peculiarly difficult position of having to teach a subject and help define it at the same time. Education Department staff are in much the same position, having to give their minds to problems of film criticism and theory, teaching method and educational strategy in the context of the day to day work of organizing courses, preparing documentation, negotiating for film extracts, and so on. Most of our definitions and formulations are made in the heat of the battle and are therefore provisional.

Originally the Department, consisting only of three people, was very largely concerned with providing lectures and courses. The other sections, the Advisory Service, Film Materials and Publications, have emerged in response to the growth of the movement in the field. Although fragmented and still very much a minority movement there is no doubt that this growth has been considerable. Its extent is concealed by the fact that the bulk of the work is carried on within some other subject discipline. If funds could be found it would be useful to conduct a national survey to provide a more complete picture of what is being done at different levels within the educational system. Reviewing the last ten years, however, what is more interesting than overall growth is the ever widening concept of film study itself. This was symbolized some years ago by the decision to drop the term 'film appreciation', with all its narrow connotations, from the title of the Department. The process has been uneven, dependent both on current debate and the interests of particular individuals, but three strands can be picked out.

1. *Criticism*

The old film grammar approach was replaced first of all by the more sophisticated procedures of literary criticism and then supplemented by the more systematic methods of structuralist and auteur theory.

2. *The Debate about Popular Culture*

This debate in its classic English form with its concern for moral values has informed much teaching of film and mass media studies and most of the official reports on the subject, but it also embraces other positions touching at one end of the scale that interest in popular entertainment and its audience represented by a book like Edgar Morin's *The Stars* and at the other the more orthodox work of the sociologists.

3. *Film Theory*

Most recently there has been a renewed interest in this area involving some re-examination of older theories and an attempt to enlist the aid of other disciplines such as linguistics and communications theory.

As a generalization the preference is for a method less dependent on personal taste with the stress on information, description and analysis rather than on judgment. At the same time there is the effort to utilize other disciplines like sociology. As a convenient shorthand definition we sometimes say that film study is equivalent to the study of literature, but as film is not only an art but an industry, a product of technology, a form of popular entertainment and a means of communication, the form of its study will be different. It will be

broader and more flexible, more dependent on knowledge than on 'good taste' and calling for more diverse lines of attack than the individual critical insight. In this sense once the enormous opportunities for its study have been fully realized it could provide an important challenge and stimulus to the study of art and society in general.

In quite another way the concept of Film Study has been broadened considerably. It seems clear from the requests coming in to our Advisory Service that the majority use of film is within the English/Social Studies complex and that most of it is thematic in approach. Between the study of film as an art in its own right and its purely instrumental use as an audio-visual aid there now exists a range of other uses including Film as Cultural Product, Film as Stimulus and Film as Evidence. It is worth pointing out that this is a development that is taking place at all levels. Most of the work in universities for example centres on the study of film as a cultural product within such departments as North American Studies. It is however most characteristic of secondary and further education. Its growth has been the most significant feature of recent years and the work of projects like the Humanities Curriculum Project is bound to stimulate it further.

The pattern emerging is for there to be a wide and varied use of film within a variety of subject contexts with the study of film as a subject in its own right in certain key areas such as in teacher training. We have to ask are we happy with such a development which suggests that film study strictly defined would be largely confined to higher education and that the movement should modify if not abandon its traditional claim that film must be established as a school subject? Given the move to break down subject barriers and to develop new approaches along interdisciplinary lines the development seems logical.

Yet there will be those teaching at the secondary level who will wish to introduce film study in its own right, perhaps within an examination structure, and it is important that they receive support. At this stage the greatest flexibility and range of experiment is desirable. But this in turn means that we should try to be clear about long term aims. In particular we have to give more precise answers to three questions. What is the subject Film Study? What are its appropriate teaching methods? How will it become more firmly established as a recognized discipline? Uncertainty about what the subject is and therefore about its value or relevance is still widespread among headmasters, education officers and other decision makers. The problem stems from a blurring of the distinctions between the study of film as a cultural subject within the framework of a liberal and general education and, on the one hand, the instrumental uses of film in

teaching and, on the other, vocational training in film. Within each of these categories there are more particular problems. One such is how other disciplines can contribute to an understanding of film. This has been a main preoccupation of our series of seminars. Much of this is new work and the next step is to explore each of the contributions more rigorously in terms of their direct relevance to film study. Some may be seen to be dead ends while others will open up new approaches.

In the area of teaching method the important issue remains the connection between critical studies and practical and creative work. There are a host of questions here that need to be systematically explored in relation to what is done not only in film but in other subjects. It has long been part of film teaching doctrine that appreciation is fostered not only by talk and discussion but by practical film making — some would say best fostered by practical work, children learn by doing. Is this view based on evidence or is it held as an act of faith? Are the courses that do stress practical work conceived as appreciation courses? Is a deliberate link forged between the critical and the creative? Similar questions can be asked about film in higher education. Again it is traditional wisdom that those training to be professional film makers need to have courses in film history and criticism as well as instruction and practice in their craft. Most film schools seem to make provision for this although in some cases it may only be lip service. Why is it that so much student hostility centres on the film history and criticism courses? Is it because the two elements, the practical and the critical, are not designed to illuminate each other? Or, more simply, that film history is badly taught? Or that the students are impatient and resentful of anything that is intellectually demanding? It is interesting that students in art schools have a somewhat similar attitude to art history. This prompts some larger questions especially relevant when a National Film School is about to be established. If we hope to produce scholars as well as artists, is this a function of such a school? Or would the critics and historians be more appropriately produced by the universities? If so, do we foresee a pattern similar to that in art education in which the schools produce the practitioners and the departments of fine arts provide the scholars? But is this a good parallel? It is important to ask as no one seems happy with it. It would be useful to know more about how it has grown up, how far it was planned for, how much it was the product of chance and prejudice, how common it is in other countries, and so on.

At this point we engage with the third question of how a new discipline becomes established. From common observation it would seem that a subject becomes established first by independent scholars,

then enters the university and ultimately percolates down into the school partly through the demands of the examination system. There are of course variations within this. Geography for example, firmly established as a school subject, has an ambiguous university status. Also, to complete the picture one would have to record the importance of economic factors, of the role of powerful business and industrial interests in establishing and sustaining some areas of enquiry as opposed to others. It has already been noted that film is out of key with this development having largely emerged in the school before becoming an established subject. Presumably this is because of the paternalistic and moralizing approach to the media characteristic of the English (at their best and worst) which sustained the belief that the mass audience needed to be protected from the false values of the movies by being trained in awareness, but that the educated few were saved by having natural good taste.

In America the pattern is almost the reverse with film departments in most universities but with work at school level emerging late. But the university work, while varying a great deal in size and scope, is primarily vocational with the bulk of the film departments coming out of, or being associated with, schools of journalism, radio, communications and the like. In most cases there is some provision for the study of film as art but this has had little impact up to now on film criticism or more generally in creating a film culture. The question of the relationship of the vocational to the liberal and the critical to the practical in art education is intensely interesting and very relevant to film study.

The whole area of how new subjects emerge, how they become established in the curriculum, what arguments sustained them and appealed to decision makers, how and why they took the shape they did, seems to be amazingly under-researched. Yet knowledge of curriculum innovation is vital to developing a strategy for film education. Indeed the study of how film is becoming established would be an excellent subject for research itself.

Even given our limited knowledge it seems crucial at this stage to make every effort to establish film study as a distinct discipline at key points within the university. This is important first of all as a strategy. Further advances at other levels are probably conditional on achieving such a status. Secondly, developments in research and scholarship are necessary to sustain the work at the school, further education, adult education and college level. It would seem that a number of problems facing the teacher can only be solved by advances elsewhere. The teacher sometimes complains that such theoretical work as exists often seems remote from the classroom.

But this is perhaps inevitable at such an early stage and the gap will only be narrowed by making provision for more work to be done. If for example much more work were to be done on fantasy and genre material the teacher would have more resources behind him in dealing with the non-realistic entertainment film. Finally, university provision for film study is required urgently to capitalize and to sustain the current intense student interest in the cinema. It is through this interest expressed in student festivals and journals along with the support of the younger lecturers that film is gaining a foothold. But as the precarious existence of the journals is evidence no subject can be sustained at this level alone and the structure must be adapted to meet its needs. It is a distinctive feature of this new generation that they are interested in a wide range of film topics, including theoretical questions, but it remains true that formal education provides little opportunity for them to pursue the study of film in a sustained or systematic way.

Because of the various practical problems associated with film such as availability, costs and the need for specialized viewing equipment, and because it houses the essential research tools, the Film Institute has an important role to play in this development, especially in the transitional period before fully financed and well equipped film departments flourish. Already a great many university ventures are sustained by lectures and documentation from the Department and the Institute is now making more money available to support the viewings essential for research purposes. It may be that other forms of collaboration between the Institute and the universities can be worked out to provide further support.

It is in the context of these larger considerations that we can best look at the various practical difficulties that face the teacher of film. I will touch first of all on those which the Education Department can do something about directly. It is clear that our Advisory Service is not at present adequate to its task and that the more creative side of its work, preparing new documentation, is being swamped by the day to day task of answering enquiries. The pressure comes largely from teachers doing thematic work and this in itself involves special problems as fiction films are not catalogued in terms of theme. What is required is for more substantial documentation to be provided to meet this need and this in turn means a Teacher Adviser specializing in this area.

As is well known, the pressure on film extracts is enormous, involving teachers having to book very much in advance and then being lucky if they get second or third choices. The flow of new extracts, which are obtained by the Department, seems reasonably

satisfactory. The problem is in making extra copies of those in the Distribution Library which are much in demand. Although there are some contractual difficulties the main problem is money. The Head of the Library would like to have more money to make such copies and letters from teachers giving strong evidence of need would help in releasing it.

Apart from our contribution to the Cinema One series our publications programme is rather dependent on the work done in the field and currently we are anxious to be informed of new work in the primary school and in the field of practical filming. For some time now we have had requests for definitive film text books. These requests have been resisted on the grounds of not wanting to create an orthodoxy and instead we have concentrated on accounts of teaching experiences. Perhaps now that much more is being done the time has come to produce more systematic and less personal descriptions of different approaches. Outside its own publications the Department has always been anxious to offer its services and facilities to those writing books independently or for other publishers. Much of this help however is dependent on the support of other departments such as the National Film Archive, and the pressure is such that they now are feeling the strain. Again, any demonstration of the value of this service would help in releasing resources.

Some of the biggest problems are outside the direct control of the Department although it may be possible for it to act to alleviate them:

I will mention two of these. With three colleges offering film as part of a main subject course the position of the student teacher is reasonably satisfactory. This is not so for the practising teacher. Apart from the BFI and SEFT Summer Schools there are a number of short courses, weekend schools and the like and in one or two centres more substantial university extra-mural courses. The best provision however was offered by the two one-term secondment courses at Bede College and Hornsey College. But the fundamental difficulty with these courses has always been that while plenty of teachers were interested in enlisting few were able to secure secondment from their local education authority.

Everyone agrees that while extracts are valuable and useful it is important that feature films are screened in full as part of any reasonably substantial course. The problems here are several and include time table inflexibility, costs of hire and to some extent availability, although this is only likely to affect the more specialized course. On the problem of costs it must be accepted that the commercial film renters cannot be expected to subsidize education. On

the other hand if the needs of film teachers were more clearly understood, if the idea of using a feature for study by a small group were properly distinguished from its showing to the full school as a holiday treat, and if the idea of creating a population with a film culture was seen in its broad relevance to the changing audience for cinema and the changing exhibition pattern, then we might be able to work towards a more regularized system of discounts related to use.

It is a question of having the confidence of the film trade, of having it accepted that there is no necessary conflict of interest. To establish this however would require more support from the education authorities than exists at present.

The issue is one of communicating with decision makers on both sides. Perhaps a concentrated effort within a limited area, developing the SEFT scheme for features in London along the lines of the American notion of a model site might produce results. Certainly more effort must be given to publicizing the work that is already done. But it is not only a question of the mechanics of communication, of action on a public relations scale, it is fundamentally a question of being clear about our own aims and purposes and seeing how these relate to the interests and aims of others. This returns us to the questions discussed earlier.

Describing and evaluating the different uses of film, defining the essential discipline of film study and working out a strategy for establishing it which can be sustained by other drives within the educational system, these are the issues which provide the essential framework for tackling the practical problems.

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NOTE: This article is a slightly edited version of the first part of the B.F.I. Education Department's Report 1969/70. The second part carries information about the Department's work and services, such as the provision of lectures and courses, the making available of film extracts and other study material, the publication of documents and books about film and film teaching, and the operation of an advisory service. The full Report is sent to all those on the Department's mailing list. Copies can also be obtained by writing to the Education Officer, British Film Institute, 81 Dean St., London W1V 6AA.

AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO THE TEACHING OF FILM AND LITERATURE

JOHN KATZ

For many English teachers the teaching of film is an exciting idea. To demonstrate this, one need only point to the programme of this convention, the work of such organizations as the National Film Board, the American Film Institute and the British Film Institute, as well as the numerous articles on film in journals in the teaching of English. We have every reason to believe not only that film will continue to be taught in the schools, but that its use will increase. Teachers and other educators should, however, be wary of jumping on a bandwagon. There is still a great need in screen education for extensive research, curriculum development work, and the training of teachers. Those who wish to deal successfully with film in the classroom must understand the medium and why they are teaching it.

One can identify at least four current approaches to the teaching of film, each of which has its own rationale and educational implication. Although these approaches are not mutually exclusive, they do exemplify divergent attitudes prevalent in screen education. The first two approaches illustrate what I believe is a dysfunctional use of the medium. The third approach would probably do most justice to film *per se*, but seems impractical in many schools and for most teachers. The fourth attempts to integrate film study with the knowledge and curriculum realities of both teachers and students without ignoring film's essential uniqueness.

Film has been used in the schools primarily as an audio-visual aid. Students studying Shakespeare are rewarded with, or subjected to, a filmed version of the play being studied or an 'instructional' film on the Elizabethan theatre. In such cases film acts merely as a 'hand-maiden' to the material in which the teacher is really interested. It is unlikely that this approach to film has resulted in enhancing students' appreciation of the medium. In fact, it has probably done just the opposite.

Another approach to film study was spawned by McLuhan and his disciples, whose incessant bombardments are sometimes called the Marshall Plan, or McLunacy by those less generous. At its extreme, this approach manifests itself in attempts to inundate the students in media. Don't interpret. Don't analyse. Just fill the classroom with films, TV, records, strobe lights, and let the students react as they will. The teacher using this approach acts as a non-interfering anthropologist watching the *primitifs* perform rites which we outsiders from the pre-electronic generation can never fully understand.

Thirdly, are two approaches, cinema arts and film-making, which I consider here as one, because they frequently are combined in the classroom and tend to treat film in a highly specialized way. The cinema art approach usually concerns itself with the history, aesthetics, appreciation and even the economics of film, while the film-making approach deals with technique and production. Too often, however, these courses see film as if it had sprung full-blown from D. W. Griffith's head and with no relationship to any other art form. Moreover, these courses find themselves under the rubric of English for what appears, to both teacher and student, to be no reason other than expediency.

The fourth approach integrates the study of film with the study of literature. It is this approach I find most viable. To me, film is an art form, like literature, and is worthy of study *in* and *for* itself. Paradoxically, despite its uniqueness, the study of film when integrated with the study of literature allows students to see how each medium works and to explore the similarities and the differences between the two media. When students study film and literature together, they are able to understand not only the meaning or message of a particular work of art, but also what each medium is forced to do, what it is able to do most successfully, and what it seems unable to do.

Let us, for a moment, look at some of the similarities and differences between film and literature which are worth pursuing with secondary school students. The relationships to be discussed reflect what has happened historically in the mainstream of film and literature –

although recent films, like many recent literary works, have attempted to overcome these conventions and limitations. But even if one must use the exceptions to prove the rule, there is value in comparison and analysis of the fundamentals of the two media.

In 1897, in his Preface to *The Nigger of the Narcissus*, Joseph Conrad said, 'My task which I am trying to achieve is, by the power of the written word to make you hear, to make you feel – it is, before all, to make you *see*.' Fifteen years later, the film-maker D. W. Griffith said, 'The task I'm trying to achieve is, above all, to make you see.' Griffith was not necessarily commenting on visual perception. He was referring to the same task as Conrad – that of enabling the reader or viewer to go beyond apprehending to comprehending, to go beyond visceral reactions to an understanding of the sense of the work.

Both literature and film are liberating arts; they are part of the humanities. They make the viewer or reader aware of outward realities and of his own inward life. Both, as Northrop Frye says of literature, develop and educate the imagination. Both film and literature present to us an artist's ordering of the chaos of human experience. With the possible exception of '*l'art pour l'att*', the poet, the novelist, the film-maker, uses the pen or the camera to express a particular attitude towards some aspect of human experience.

Literature and film are similar also in that both tend to be content oriented. With some exceptions of course, both media make extensive use of the narrative mode. Both require cognitive participation in order to have the reader or viewer understand them. Finally, both film and literature frequently offer some form of entertainment. These last two components, understanding and entertainment, are reminiscent of the *utile et dulce* of which Horace speaks in defining the function of poetry.

When exploring relationships between film and literature, one must also examine the basic differences between the two media. To state that words are the fundamental tool of literature and pictures that of film is to make, for all of its obviousness, an important distinction. Just as a picture of a horse is not the horse itself, so the picture is also different from that image evoked by the word 'horse', no matter how many modifiers the word may have. The imagination educated by literature is qualitatively different from that educated by film.

Film, because of its immediacy and its appearance of concreteness, usually deals more successfully with actions than with thoughts. Literature, on the other hand, deals with thoughts and abstractions just as easily as with actions. For example, Meursault, in Camus'

The Stranger, has a detachment and an inwardness which are reflected in the way he recounts his story. Although he quotes directly the words of others, the judge and the priest, for example, he seldom relates to the reader his exact words to them. Meursault tells the judge *that* it was by chance he had the gun and returned to the spot in which the Arab rested and similarly tells the priest *that* he does not believe in God. In the film, however, Visconti must transform the essence of what Meursault tells us *about* into something we can see, hear, or both. Visconti's Meursault, therefore, enters the realm of action.

One further difference between the two media lies in their handling of time and space. Whereas literature tends to convey time by the use of tense, film tends to convey time by the manipulation of space. In film, everything, even a flashback, happens as we watch it. The filmed version of the Ambrose Bierce story, 'Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge', by Roberto Enrico has immediacy because it is presented to us on the screen in the only way it can be shown – before our eyes, always in the present tense. But, as we learn at the end of the film, it only *appeared* to be in the present and actually was a subjunctive. The short story, in contrast, is written in the past tense, with only the description of Farquhar returning home rendered in the present. Then the sudden switch to the past tense, to describe his death creates the sharp contrast which the movie achieves by showing action as it happens.

As an example of this approach which compares and contrasts film and literature, I would like to describe briefly an experimental curriculum now being developed by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. The curriculum is a ten week 'unit' being taught this year in three pilot schools in Ontario to eleventh grade academic and technical students. The course integrates the study of film with the study of literature by investigating ways in which each medium handles a particular theme. The curriculum treats film as film and literature as literature while exploring ways in which each medium deals with certain aspects of the theme which we selected to work on this year – man's relationship to machines.

We approach the theme of man's relationship to machines in three ways. First, we consider works of literature and film which depict man in the absence of, or unaffected by machines, including some Utopian and pastoral works. Secondly, we consider those works in which the machine is praised or even apotheosized for the role it plays in man's existence. And finally, there are those works in which the machine is shown as the physical or spiritual destroyer of mankind.

The students are involved in three activities related to this thematic approach. They see films, discuss them, and write about them; they, read books in an individualized reading programme, discuss them, and write about them; and they make movies and discuss them. The films seen and the books read are in our judgement worthwhile works of art; no film or literary work is used only because of its theme.

The students begin the course by discussing how film and literature portray man in the absence of machines. They view short films such as *Sky*, *Nahanni*, and *Leaf*. At the same time they have available to them, for individualized reading, literature such as *Walden*, *Erewhon*, *Who Has Seen the Wind*, and nature poetry. The students write on the theme as well as on the ways in which film and literature deal with the theme. As a corollary to the writing, they are given super 8-mm. cameras, some technical instruction, and are set loose in a rural or natural setting to make a short film. The course does not attempt to make professional film-makers of the students. We are more interested in the process than in the product of film-making. But by making a filmic statement, the students are forced to consider some of the medium's basic aspects such as camera angles, lighting, perspective and editing. They are, in short, as is the writer or the film-maker, ordering the chaos of their experiences. They are learning to appreciate what is involved in making a coherent statement in either medium.

Students then consider the works which take an objective or positive viewpoint towards machines. They view and discuss shorts such as *N.Y., N.Y.* and *Skyscraper* and features such as Robert Flaherty's *Louisiana Story* and Eisenstein's *The Old and the New (The General Line)*. Simultaneously, they read and discuss such books as Saint-Exupéry's *Night Flight*, the poetry of Carl Sandburg, and science fiction by writers such as Ray Bradbury, Isaac Asimov and Jules Verne. Again, the students are given the 8-mm. cameras and film, and set loose, this time in the middle of the city or a factory.

Next, the students see films and read books which deal with the machine as the spiritual or physical destroyer of mankind. Included here would be the short films *Day After Day*, *21/87*, *Very Nice, Very Nice*, and the features – Godard's *Alphaville*, Kubrick's *Dr Strangelove*, and Theodore Flicker's *The President's Analyst*. Books the students might be reading at this time include *Brave New World*, *1984*, *A Canticle for Leibowitz*, *Hiroshima*, the *Octopus* and *The Grapes of Wrath*.

As a final project, students are given the opportunity to work in a group on the production of their own 16-mm. film, including the script writing, acting, directing, shooting and editing.

We are now attempting to devise ways of evaluating the success of the programme, and indeed, of any programme in screen education. This model for a curriculum is still in the formative stages and will be for at least the next year. We are developing and testing a flexible approach which, I believe, will enable the student to 'see' better, in the Griffith-Conrad sense. While it is only one approach to the study of film, it does seem to be a viable way of incorporating an important medium into the school curriculum.

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FILMS

Feature Films

CITY LIGHTS (1928-30)	WORLD WITHOUT SUN (1964)
Charlie Chaplin	Jacques Yves-Cousteau
METROPOLIS (1925-26)	ON THE BEACH (1959)
Fritz Lang	Stanley Kramer
MODERN TIMES (1936)	A Nous LA LIBERTÉ (1931)*
Charlie Chaplin	René Clair
WEST SIDE STORY (1961)	EXECUTIVE SUITE (1954)
Robert Wise and Jerome Robbins	Robert Wise
FRANKENSTEIN (1931)	MY UNCLE (1956-57)
Boris Karloff	JACQUES TATI
LOUISIANA STORY (1946-48)	GIANT (1956)
Robert Flaherty	George Stevens
LES QUATRE CENTS COUPS (1959)	ALPHAVILLE (1965)
François Truffaut	Jean Luc Goddard
FAIL-SAFE (1964)	THE MAGNIFICENT AMERSONS (1942)
Sidney Lumet	Orson Welles
DR STRANGELOVE (1963)	. THE CROWD (1927-28)
Stanley Kubrick	King Vidor
THE GRAPES OF WRATH (1940)	WILD RIVER (1960)
John Ford	Elia Kazan
RED DESERT (1964)	THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME (1936)
Michelangelo Antonioni	William Cameron Menzies
FAHRENHEIT 451 (1967)	LORD OF THE FLIES (1963)
François Truffaut	Peter Brook
KIMIKO (1937)	THE ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE (1952)
Mikio Naruse	Luis Bunuel
THE GENERAL LINE (1926-29)	
Sergei M. Eisenstein	

THE PRESIDENT'S ANALYST (1967)	MOODS OF SURFING
Theodore J. Flicker	Greg McGillivray
THE WILD ONE (1951)	THIRD AVE EL
Laslo Benkark	Carson Davidson
FANTASTIC VOYAGE (1966)	AN AMERICAN TIME CAPSULE
Richard Fleisher	Charles Braverman
TARZAN THE APE MAN (1932)	NAHANNI
W. S. Van Dyke	Donald Wilder - NFB
<i>Shorts and Documentaries</i>	INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN
THE CARS IN YOUR LIFE	Robert Flaherty and John Grierson
NFB	23 SKIDOO
THE RAILROADER - NFB	NFB - Julian Biggs
WHAT ON EARTH (1964)	THE PERSISTENT SEED
NFB - Kaj Pindal and Les Drew	Christopher Chapman
HIGHWAY (1958)	LEGAULT'S PLACE
Hilary Harris	NFB - Suzanne Angel
GO SLOW ON THE BRIGHTON LINE (1952)	THE HOUSE (HET HUIS) (1961)
B.B.C. Film Unit	Louis A. van Gasteren
PACIFIC 231 (1941)	ATMOSFEAR (1967)
Jean Mitry	Tom Dewitt
TWO TARS (1926)	THE TWENTY-FOUR DOLLAR ISLAND (1925)
Hal Roach	Robert Flaherty
NIGHT MAIL (1936)	N.Y., N.Y. (1958)
Basil Wright	Francis Thompson
21-87	RHYTHM OF A CITY (1946)
Arthur Lipsett - NFB	Arne Sucksdorff
OPENING SPEECH: McLAREN	THE CUMBERLAND STORY (1947)
Norman McLaren - NFB	Humphrey Jennings
POT POURRI	IN A BOX
Norman McLaren - NFB	Eliot Noyes - NFB
THE ANIMAL MOVIE	LISTEN TO BRITAIN
NFB - Grant Monroe	Humphrey Jennings and Stewart McAllister
THE LIVING MACHINE (1961)	WATERS OF YOSEMITE
NFB - Roman Kroiter	Fred Hudson
RED BALLOON	VERY NICE, VERY NICE
Albert Lamorisse	Arthur Lipsett
QUIET RACKET	THE COOPER (LE TONNELIER) (1945)
Gerald Potterton	Georges Rouquier
FISHERMEN	THE WHEELWRIGHT (LE CHARRON) (1945)
Guy L'Cote	Georges Rouquier
WHITE MANE	GLASS (1959)
Albert Lamorisse	Bert Haanstra
TERMINUS	SONG OF CEYLON (1934-45)
John Schlessinger	Basil Wright
SKY	
John Feeney	

AUTOMATIC MOVING CO. (1912)	THE CAVES OF STEEL
Emil Cohl	Isaac Asimov
GHOSTS BEFORE BREAKFAST (1927)	'CHICAGO POEMS'
Hans Richter	'SMOKE AND STEEL'
HIGH STEEL	Carl Sandberg
Don Owen - NFB	CHILDREN OF THE ASHES
A TRIP TO THE MOON	Robert Jungk
George Melies	THE CHILD BUYER
TIME IS	John Hersey
Don Levy	CONNECTICUT YANKEE IN KING ARTHUR'S COURT
SKYSCRAPER	Mark Twain
S. Clarke and D. A. Pennebaker	CROSSING THE ANTARCTIC
DREAM OF THE WILD HORSES	Hillary, Fuchs
TOYS	THE CHRYSALIDS
Grant Monroe - NFB	S. Wyndham
CLAY	THE DANCE OF THE MACHINE
Elliott Noyes	Edward O'Brien
LEAF	DR JEKYLL AND MR HYDE
David Adams	R. L. Stevenson
<i>TV and Commercials</i>	EREWHON
MISSION IMPOSSIBLE SERIES	Samuel Butler
CAPTAIN VIDEO	FAIL-SAFE
HEARTBEAT	Eugene Burdick
COMMERCIALS (1965)	Harvey Wheeler
TV MAIL AWARD - BRITISH AWARD-WINNING COMMERCIALS	DUNE
MEDIUM AND THE MESSAGE (NBC)	F. Herbert
<i>Literature</i>	FANTASTIC VOYAGE
APE AND ESSENCE	Isaac Asimov
Aldous Huxley	FAHRENHEIT 451
BOY GET CAR	Ray Bradbury
Henry Gregor Felsen	FLOWERS OF HIROSHIMA
BRAVE NEW WORLD	Edita Morris
Aldous Huxley	FLOWERS FOR ALGERNON
BRIGHTER THAN A THOUSAND SUNS	Daniel Keyes
Robert Jungk	FRANKENSTEIN
BULLDOZER	Mary W. Shelley
Stephen Meader	FROM THE EARTH TO THE MOON
A CANTICLE FOR LEIBOWITZ	Jules Verne
Walter M. Miller, Jr.	GALILEO
CAT'S CRADLE	Bertolt Brecht
Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.	GIANT
	Edna Ferber
	THE GRAPES OF WRATH
	John Steinbeck
	THE GREAT AUTOMATIC GRAMMATISATOR
	Roald Dahl

GULLIVER'S TRAVELS	OLIVER TWIST
Jonathan Swift	Charles Dickens
THE HAIRY APE	OF MAN AND MACHINES
Eugene O'Neill	A. O. Lewis
HARD TIMES	ON THE BEACH
Charles Dickens	Nevil Shute
HERE IS NEW YORK	PLAYER PIANO
E. B. White	Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.
HIGH GEAR	THE PUPPET MASTERS
Evan Jones	Robert A. Heinlein
HIROSHIMA	R IS FOR ROCKET
John Hersey	Ray Bradbury
THE INSOLENT CHARIOTS	THE SEARCH FOR ROBOTS
John Keats	Alfred J. Cole, Jr.
THE JUNGLE	RED ALERT
Upton Sinclair	P. Bryant
KANDY KOLORED	R.U.R.
TANGERINE FLAKE	Karel Capek
STREAMLINED BABY	TECHNIC AND CIVILIZATION
Tom Wolfe	Lewis Mumford
LE PING PONG	THREE PROPHETIC NOVELS
Arthur Adamov	<i>The Story of Days to Come</i>
LIMBO 90	<i>Time Machine</i>
Bernard Wolfe	<i>When the Sleeper Awakes</i>
LOOKING BACKWARD	H. G. Wells
Edward Bellamy	SEEDS OF TIME
MACHINES AND MEN	S. Wyndham
Stuart Chase	THE TRIUMPHANT MACHINE
THE MACHINE IN THE GARDEN: TECHNOLOGY AND THE PASTORAL	R. M. Fox
IDOL IN AMERICA	THE TWENTY-FIFTH HOUR
Leo Marx	C. Virgil Gheorghiu
THE MACHINE-WRECKERS	WALDEN Two
Ernst Toller	B. F. Skinner
THE MACHINERIES OF JOY	WALDEN & CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE
Ray Bradbury	Henry David Thoreau
NECTAR IN A SIEVE	WAR OF THE ROBOTS
K. Markandaya	H. Harrison
NINE ROADS TO TOMORROW	WE OF NAGASAKI
D. S. Halacy, Jr.	Takashi Nagai
NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR	WHEN ENGINES ROARED
George Orwell	William F. Nolan
NIGHT FLIGHT	WIND, SAND AND STARS
A. Saint-Exupéry	Antoine de Saint-Exupéry
THE OCTOPUS	WINGS OVER EUROPE
Frank Norris	Robert Nichols
	Maurice Browne

<i>Sociology and Criticism</i>	HOMMES ET MACHINES
NEW MAPS OF HELL	J. Laloup and J. Nellis
K. Amis	THE MECHANISTIC CONCEPTION OF LIFE
THE AUTOMATION AGE	J. Loeb
P. Arnold and P. White	THE TASTE-MAKERS
WORLD TECHNOLOGY AND HUMAN DESTINY	R. Lynes
R. Aron (editor)	UNDERSTANDING MEDIA
AUTOMATION, EDUCATION AND HUMAN VALUES	M. McLuhan
W. Brickman	GUTENBERG GALAXY
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S. Chase	MEN, MACHINES AND MODERN TIMES
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A. J. Core	THE MYTH OF THE MACHINE
THE TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY	L. Mumford
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MY PHILOSOPHY OF INDUSTRY	J. B. Nedaris
H. Ford	CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION
THE TRIUMPHANT MACHINE	J. V. Nef
R. M. Fox	MAN AND TECHNICS
WORK	R. A. Nisbet
R. Fraser (editor)	THE DANCE OF THE MACHINES
MECHANIZATION TAKES COMMAND	E. J. O'Brien
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J. Jacobs	MODERN TECHNOLOGY AND CIVILIZATION
MARCH OF THE ROBOTS	C. R. Walker
G. Jennings	THE INDUSTRIAL MUSE
CONTRIBUTIONS TO ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY	J. Warburg
C. G. Jung	TECHNOLOGY
	R. Williams

GENRE: A REPLY TO ED BUSCOMBE

RICHARD COLLINS

Ed Buscombe's paper published in the last issue of *Screen* has made it impossible for film critics to sustain a critical procedure akin to the 'words on the page' literary critic: we must now recognize the importance of context in understanding a film or auteur. But I dissent from his account of the importance of genre at a number of points and would like to offer an alternative emphasis, reverting to something close to the auteur theory, that may yield a more accurate and useful procedure for the definition, comprehension and ranking of films. Like Ed Buscombe, I will centre my account on the Western.

There is clearly something that makes a Western a Western – qualities that relate disparate and distinct films like *Rio Bravo*, *The Tall Men*, *Apache* and *Union Pacific*; and the definition of the structure of genre as a matter of inner and outer forms is unexceptionable, but I think of limited usefulness. Moreover, Ed Buscombe's usage veers, in spite of his recognition of the danger, towards the prescriptive.

'The nature of the sonnet makes it more likely you will be successful in writing a love poem of a very personal kind rather than something else.'

It's impossible of course to formulate any criteria to make the question of likelihood of success susceptible to answer; but I think the proposition can be questioned by inviting attention not only to the tremendous variety of concerns or themes displayed in Shakespeare's sonnets, but also to those in Norman Ault's *The Elizabethan Lyric*, a more representative collection of contemporary practice. So too in the cinema, the enunciation of a series of groups of formal elements leads the writer to prescriptive definitions:

'If you are going to make a Western you will tend not to consider certain themes or subjects.'

This is perhaps of little importance in itself but what is important is that the critical procedure characterized by this dogma leads the writer, most uncharacteristically, to make unhelpful and misleading remarks about individual films. Of *Winchester 73* he says, (it) 'is not about the gun, which is a mere connecting device to hold the story together. The film, like all films, is about people.' Noting in passing the rather sloppy romanticism of the invocation of an invariably homocentric cinema, surely the gun in *Winchester 73* plays a vital role in the film? The Winchester is a talisman, it takes on the dimensions



Winchester 73: The gun becomes a talisman

of weapons in medieval romance – the presence of the perfect, the true, casts into relief characteristics of human behaviour. In the presence of the talisman all men behave as they really are; thus Lin and Dutch revert to their crazed childhood rivalry, mitigated in one case by a capacity for friendship, generosity and justice, and exacerbated in the other by a predilection towards crime, violence and ruthless individualism. The Winchester is in some sense a divine object, symbolic of a view of technology, in that in a world of variance, error and confusion, it alone is consistent, perfect and beautiful.

The groups of formal elements elucidated by Ed Buscombe are mostly iconographical, and it is in iconographical terms that he sees elements of consistency residing in the genre. Alternative schemes of structure or theme are rejected:

'The notion of structure does not open up many possibilities. It seems extremely difficult to argue that there is any significant similarity between the plots of Westerns.'

And: 'While it is possible to talk of themes and archetypes in genres, . . . it doesn't in the end help very much . . . they exist in films that can scarcely be classified into genres, and what is more, they occur in other forms of art besides the cinema.'

I agree with Ed Buscombe's preliminary definition of three areas in which genre elements may be present: iconography, structure and theme, and will follow it. As he says, there is a structure of correspondence that makes a Western a Western and constitutes the genre, and centres his accounts in an iconographical scheme. It is true of course that the clothes, locations, weapons, etc., displayed in Westerns are particularized – a still from *Man of the West* or *Rio Bravo* could not be mistaken for a still from a gangster or war film or from a musical. But it seems to me that although these elements are specific and peculiar to the Western, they are not intrinsically meaningful. It is not true that a man in a Western wearing the characteristic clothes is thereby 'aggressively masculine, sexy in a virile sort of way' – Hunt Bromley, the town squirt in *The Gunfighter* wears the characteristic clothes but is not thereby virile and masculine – and though Randolph Scott and John Wayne wear the same kind of clothes there is a world of difference in their 'meaning'.

Far from the limited repertoire of clothes, weapons and locations, (incidentally far more varied than Ed Buscombe suggests, and therefore closer to the historical past that they depict than he would allow) constituting visual conventions, they are simply contingent on the film being set in a particular physical and temporal context. Westerns are about the American frontier – a shifting geographical and tem-



The clothes alone don't make a hero of Hunt Bromley in *The Gunfighter*

poral location – and the close iconographical identity of many of the films comes from their setting in a post civil war context – in a 30-year spectrum from 1860 to 1890. There are surprisingly few films about the war between the States, fewer about America before the war and few set after the turn of the century. And it is not because firearms are one of the formal elements constituting the genre that violence is endemic to the Western, but because the era depicted in the Western was one in which people were armed and violence was endemic. Similarly, the reason that there are few pacifist Westerns is not because death by a .45 bullet is less unpleasant than death by a flamethrower, napalm or Lazy Dog, but because violence in the West is of a different historical nature from violence in war. Violence in Westerns is associated with crime, either with its commission or with its prevention, and is part of the frontier struggle to order nature and build a social life. The question of pacifism simply does not arise in a Western, just as it does not arise in a gangster film: the criminal nature of violence in those films is different to that of a pacifist war movie where violence is displayed as an end in itself rather than keyed to a social context and purpose.

During the long history of the genre, directors have selected a repertoire of situations, antinomies and motifs from the mass of

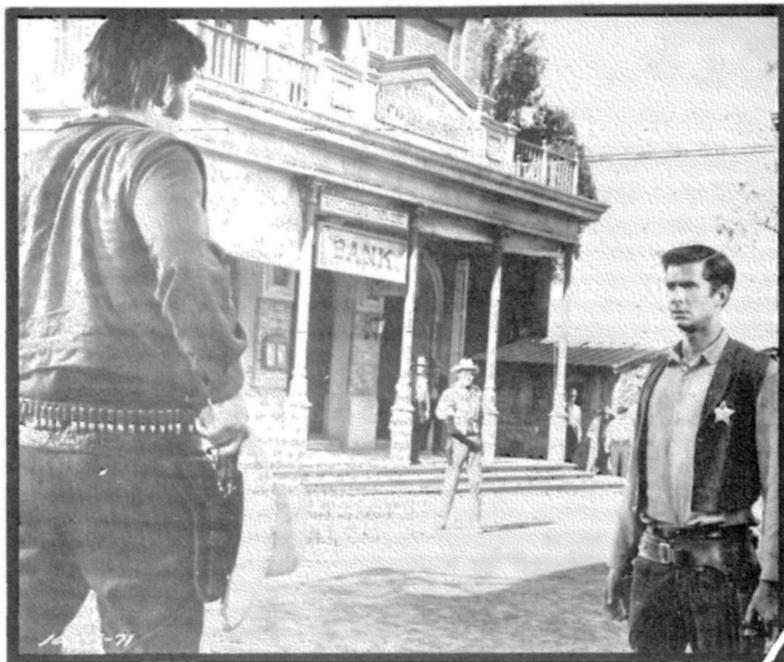
material available in the history of the American frontier. It seems to me that it is in this repertoire of action, situations, that the genre can be said to exist. In drawing on the history of the American frontier, directors have enunciated a series of focal situations in which historical, mythological and personal crises are encapsulated. Iconographical continuity is certainly one of the things that distinguishes a Western from a gangster film but does not distinguish it from the history or other forms of art of the period. It is in the formulation of a repertoire of key situations that recur again and again in films, and to a lesser extent in Western fiction, that the distinct nature of the genre is located.

The gunfight, drifters from a defeated south, confrontations of cavalry and Indians, ambushes, gambling, cattle drives and railway building are all familiar to those who have become addicted to the vicarious experience of Western life in the cinema. With rare exceptions these situations and events are unparalleled elsewhere; in gangster and war films gunfights are rarely distinguished by the personal, individual and ritual qualities of the Western confrontation. The musical, though it shares with the Western a delight in movement, colour and harmony, is more sophisticated, less naturalistic, not keyed to time or place; celebrations of friendship, marriage, work, take the form of dance or song rather than a literal enactment of the event. In an analysis of four B feature films Peter Brooker* has convincingly shown that the nature of the films' similarity is a function of the hero living through similar situations; as he puts it:

'The hero is established eventually on the side of the law or the community and this involves some passage through the roles of outlaw and lawman.'

Such a movement is central to a film like *The Tin Star* – the three major protagonists, Henry Fonda, Anthony Perkins and Neville Brand (see still), all struggle to establish a personal treaty with law and the community and pass through the roles of outlaw and lawman, but for each man the meaning and nature of the experience is different. Defining the characteristic forms of action only goes so far – no invariable meaning resides in a given situation. I have alluded to the variety of meaning that may be attached to a single stock situation or process in one film, *The Tin Star*; further, a man to man gunfight may have completely different meanings in different films. So, although in each of the following films the situation is recognizably similar – part of the structure of correspondence that binds the films in the genre – the gunfights in *The Gunfighter*, *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*, *Guns in the Afternoon*, *Seven Men from Now*, have quite

*In a paper written for the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.



different meanings. Should an inventory of actional units common to Westerns be compiled, the exercises would be of very limited usefulness since the meaning of events is not invariable, nor even variable within a finite range.

The thematic structure of Westerns, although not a key part of Ed Buscombe's thesis, has been instanced as a binding element of the genre. Robin Wood in his book *Howard Hawks* refers to:

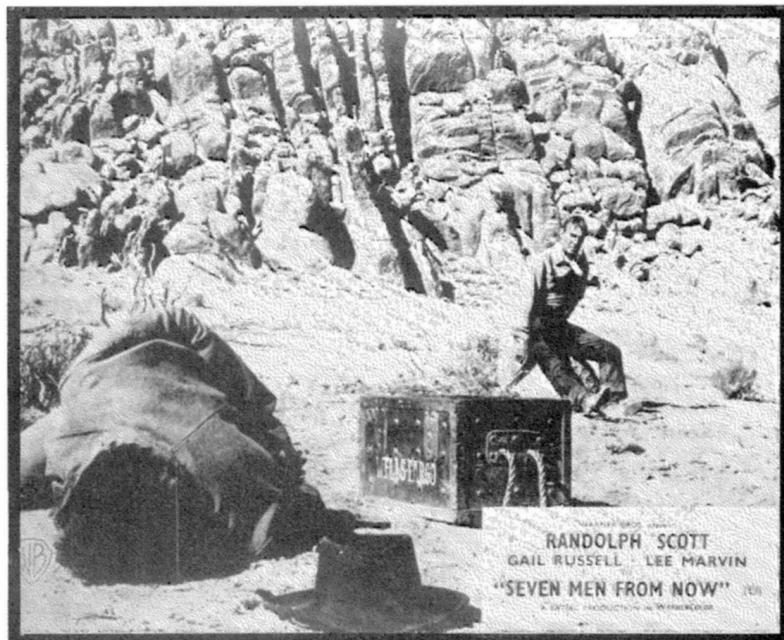
'... a theme that lends itself readily to (could even be said to be implicit in) the Western genre'.

And of course the godhead himself, Andre Bazin, in advancing his typology of the sur-Western implies, in a rejection of concerns not native to the genre, an orthodox thematic structure. Interestingly enough Ed Buscombe does not discuss theme, and rejects even the imprecise definition of the genre's thematic concern as history. It is proper for his thesis that he should do so, for thematic consistency in the Western is an *ignis fatuus*. I have already referred to the Western's invariable setting in the American frontier, but one can go further than the interest in the past thereby implicit in the genre. Though any work of art about a past epoch implies an historical interest and the past as its theme, the past in the Western has has characteristically a more specific importance, one which often goes beyond a national or historical perspective.

The past that so often forms the springs of action of a Western plot is often a personal past. Ed Buscombe's argument against a central Western theme, history, on the grounds that it is not the concern of Mann or Boetticher is misleading. There is a difference between Boetticher's interest in the past and that of Ford, but the past, an American past, is of seminal importance in Boetticher.

In Boetticher we characteristically see a conflict played out between different ways of coping with personal pasts; conflict between those who live in and out of the past and those whose concern it is to slough it off. The Boetticher hero is, although frequently crazed or unstable, a representative man. In *The Tall T* Scott exemplifies the joys of creative individualism in the old West – he is shown as in command of and at one with his environment, riding through an austere but not inhospitable landscape to an island of fertility and companionship, the swing station. The man/environment relationship and the attractions of Scott's life as a small independent ranche• achieve a definitive expression in the magnificent cattle-ridi•g sequence. The image of man versus bull is central to Boetticher's movies, but in *The Tall T* the elemental contest is genial; Scott may be defeated by the bull but he is dignified by the encounter and retains his authenticity – indeed as he walks home he is able to contemplate his situation with wry humour. The savage murders that follow the encounter with Chink, Frank and Billy Jack completely invert the order through which the hero has lived and the intrusion of violence





'A repertoire of stock situations . . .' stills from *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (left), *Guns along the Mohawk* (top), *Seven Men from Now* (above)

changes the issues underlying the contest Scott experiences from a testing of authenticity to a struggle for survival.

Boetticher, like Fuller, views the human condition as one of conflict; in *The Tall T* the view of conflict as dynamic and creative – man versus bull – is superseded by a struggle of loneliness, desperation and nihilism. The final series of combats that secures Scott's survival virtually eliminates everything else – his gesture to Frank of trust and neutrality is turned against him and a realization of man's condition of Hobbesian isolation enforced through Boetticher's insistence in the final shots of the continuity between Scott and the new landscape of aridity, isolation and death.

The dualism that Boetticher explores in *The Tall T* is identical to that informing Ford's Westerns from the heroic phase *The Iron Horse* to *Wagonmaster* to those that increasingly affirm waste, rejection of the past and nihilism: the period spanning *The Searchers* to *Cheyenne Autumn*. Similarly Mann; films like *Where The River Bends*, *The Far Country*, *Man of the West* are as much about the making of the West as *The Man who Shot Liberty Valance* or *Drums Along The Mohawk*.

But I referred earlier to an *ignis fatuus*, and to talk in terms of 'the making of the West', 'history', 'the past', is to talk in very imprecise terms. Valuable perhaps, but scarcely specific. To speak of the theme of the past animating the Western does not take us very far into experiences as disparate as *The Great Missouri Raid*, *Johnny Guitar* and *Fort Apache*, nor does it differentiate these films from those in other genres about history or about the American past. The crises of individualism and collectivism that figure in the Western have excited American consciousness from Alexander Hamilton and before and are at work in the gangster and war film no less than in the Western. It is also difficult to devise empirical tests that make a critical proposition susceptible to proof; one can look at a series of films in the same putative genre and isolate recurrent actional and thematic patterns, in *Jesse James*, *The James Brothers of Missouri*, *The True Story of Jesse James* for instance, but find that the experience of the films in question are more different than the same. If genre is, in Colin MacArthur's phrase, to carry 'intrinsic charges of meaning' or, as Ed Buscombe has it, offers a specific series of references, one would not expect this to be so.

I would then maintain that if genre exists as a distinct quantity it is in terms of a repertoire of stock situations, selected from the events of the American frontier, that are themselves unspecific, ambiguous and intrinsically without meaning. That neither a structure of archetypal

patterns and myths nor of history is sufficiently precise to constitute a genre, nor do recurrent locations, clothes and props do more than signal a temporal and geographical context for a film.

Far from genre offering a useful and workable analytical hypothesis, I think that it is deficient by comparison with the methodology it seeks to supplant, the auteur theory. Ed Buscombe misrepresents the practice of the auteur critic. A quotation from either theory or practice of prominent exponents of the theory, say Peter Wollen or Andrew Sarris, would make this remark: 'They assume that the auteur is personally responsible for everything that appears in the film', and his characterization of the theory as 'extreme', is untenable. Moreover, the denial of the role of directors in constructing genres, refining the situations, motifs and antinomies available in the historical past has led him to take a mistaken view of the formal elements of the genre. But Ed Buscombe's paper has rightly alerted us to the importance of context; the difference between two Nicholas Ray films, *The True Story of Jesse James* and *Rebel Without a Cause*, is a real one and susceptible to discussion in terms of genre – of actional repertoire, and to a lesser degree of iconography. But the relation between the two films is clearer than that between *The True Story of Jesse James* and *Jesse James*, two films in the same genre – the two Ray films have a vigour and delicacy that is largely absent in the King film, the quality of the experience of Ray's Northfield raid is more vivid and intense than that of King's, nearer to the immediacy and tension of the children in the old house and the chicken run of *Rebel Without a Cause*.

I am grateful to Ed Buscombe for his paper, for some of the valuable definitions it provides and not least for provoking my own disagreement. Any merit or otherwise that either a genre or auteur orientated procedure may have can only be tested in the practice of analysis and evaluation; polemic cannot, it seems to me, prove conclusive, though the agreement and disagreement it provokes may prove instructive. Perhaps Andrew Sarris's view best enunciates my position:

"This tone suggests that the critic must make an irrevocable choice between a cinema of directors and a cinema of actors, or between a cinema of directors and a cinema of genres, or between a cinema of directors and a cinema of social themes and so on. The transcendental view of the auteur theory considers itself the first step rather than the last stop in a total history of the cinema. The auteur theory is merely a system of tentative priorities, a pattern theory in constant flux.'

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THE COMMON PURSUIT OF TRUE JUDGMENT

ALAN LOVELL

'... the only question I would ask you is to defend this position more abstractly and to become conscious that large ethical, philosophical, and, of course, ultimately, also aesthetic choices are involved.' (Rene Wellek, *The Importance of Scrutiny*, p. 23.)

'The reader of the paper saw my point, but as I expected it wasn't taken up in discussion. But towards the close a speaker who had shown himself notably articulate remarked, glancing back over what had been said, that I, he gathered, was a vitalist. I could only reply that I didn't see how the word helped. I felt, in fact, nonplussed... No thought of any philosophy or intellectual system, of course, had been in my mind; I merely meant to evoke in my hearers a strong present sense of what they of course knew, and to insist on its crucial relevance.' (F. R. Leavis, *English Literature in our Time and the University*, p. 53.)

Robin Wood's detailed discussion of my article hardly sustains the moderately favourable reference he makes to me in the course of it. 'There are hundreds of "paltry, impudent natures" producing "paltry criticism" and there are a few people like Mr. Lovell and myself who are at least trying to be serious and honest.' ('Ghostly Paradigm and HCF,' *Screen*, p. 44.) My honesty can't count for much since according to him I review books I've only read a part of. And I'm not sure how much my seriousness is worth in view of the way I offer 'a glib and simplistic view' of Leavis's work; 'grossly oversimplify' what is on the screen in *The Left Handed Gun*; 'sweep aside the complexities' of *The Miracle Worker* in order to make it fit a formula; 'fall into simplistic pitfalls' in my account of Penn; both 'inadvertently parody and characteristically garble' Leavis's dictum about critical exchange. If this is what seriousness and honesty amount to, God knows what paltry and impudent criticism is like.

Even if my critique was as severely limited as Robin Wood claims, I don't think he has made a useful response to the main purpose of my essay. Making a critique of his position the starting point, I wanted to make some suggestions of ways film criticism might develop and improve. The positive suggestions emerged out of the critique. Robin Wood's critique of contemporary film criticism is so limited that it allows him to make no positive suggestions.

His statement that the trouble with film criticism is the absence of film critics tells us at a simple and obvious level what he thinks the problem is. It gives no hint of how he would set about solving it. The basis for his statement is Lawrence's view that the critic must be a man of force and complexity. Such a view like all 'great men' theories of human activity leads to passivity since all that can be done is to wait around until the great men appear – or, in Robin Wood's terms, the men of force and complexity decide to devote themselves to film criticism. The only other possibility I can see is that we abandon film criticism for the moment and all start working for a Lawrentian revolution that would produce men of force and complexity in abundance.

Apart from the inadequacy of Robin Wood's perspective on criticism, I also dislike the stress it puts on personal moral qualities. I don't know what gives him the right to judge most film critics as having 'paltry and impudent' natures and to judge himself serious and honest. I don't think that seriousness and honesty are guarantees of worthwhile film criticism. On their own these qualities are limited ones which need to be supplemented by others – intelligence, for example . . .

In writing my critique of Robin's Wood's position I wanted to suggest quite another perspective for film criticism. I wanted to shift the emphasis from *the critic* to *criticism*, from personal qualities to impersonal ones, from moral qualities to intellectual ones. I wanted precisely to contest Lawrence's claim that criticism can never be a science. I wanted to argue at the very least that criticism can be a more systematic discipline than it is at present: that if it could not hope to attain the precision of the natural sciences, it could at least aim at the systematization of human studies like linguistics, sociology, anthropology: that it could develop some philosophical and aesthetic depth.

Essentially I was trying to conduct with Robin Wood, the kind of debate Rene Wellek tried to conduct with Leavis 30 years ago (the nature of which is indicated in the first quotation at the head of this article). Robin Wood reacts not in the spirit of the Leavis of 1937 who tried to answer the questions Wellek posed but in the spirit of

the Leavis of the late 1960's. The second quotation at the head of this article gives some indication of this later Leavis. When a statement of his is characterized as that of a 'vitalist' (an apt characterization I should have thought) Leavis was baffled. He felt he had said something obvious which everybody would agree with. He doesn't seem to realise that an everyday statement may reveal an intellectual system or philosophy and that the recognition of the basic position can help to clarify discussion. On the evidence of this quotation the anti-philosophical bias of the Leavis position has become more decisive.

Robin Wood shows this anti-philosophical bias very strongly. He gives no indication that he is aware of the issues I am trying to raise (even if I haven't done this very well). He states his own position as if it were a matter of obvious common sense (e.g. 'With film, the problem *is* one of quotation, whatever Mr. Lovell may say, and there is no way of evading it'). And since he regards his position in this light he can only see my attempts to criticize it as misguided and be irritated by them.

The result is that our debate hardly fulfils the Leavision description of criticism as 'the common pursuit of true judgment'. In my rejoinder, I haven't tried to answer Robin Wood in a point by point way to prevent the exchange from simply seeming a personal squabble. I have concentrated on the points which seem to me important for film criticism.

1. *Criticism and Analysis* The point in Robin Wood's article that most sharply reveals the difference between us is his analogy between criticism and the study of the body. On one level I'm quite happy to accept the analogy. In order to study the body an analytic apparatus has been developed. This apparatus is by now so complex that it has to be broken into different areas of study like anatomy, physiology, neurology, etc. I am simply asking that film criticism at least make a start in the same direction. At present the film critic seems to be in the position of a general practitioner studying the body without the aid of anatomy, physiology or neurology or anything but his own intuition and experience. Without any general framework he is not only trying to work out how the body operates but also trying to pronounce whether the body is a 'good' one or not. Robin Wood is aware that his analogy leads in a dangerous direction. Having made it, he pulls back from its implication, saying criticism can't be a precise science because every work of art demands its own individual response. So does every body. No body is exactly like any other body but bodies have enough important features in common for them to be studied as a group. Precisely the same is true of works of art.

Let us take fiction films as our equivalent of the body. Just as bodies can be studied in terms of such common characteristics as their bone structure, blood circulation, nervous systems, etc., fiction films can be studied in terms of such common characteristics as editing devices, narrative structures, character relationships, etc. It is true that one film will have a simple narrative structure while another has a complex one. But the difference will not be so great that we can't recognize that they both employ narrative structures. It is also true that the relationship between narrative structure and editing devices will be different in one film from that in another. The result is that no one film is exactly the same as another. But we recognize the differences on the basis of their common characteristics. Throughout his article Robin Wood seems not to understand that an essential point of any human study is to produce generalizations that make it possible to study particular objects.

At another level his analogy needs to be challenged. It is not a self-evident fact that works of art should be described by a term like 'organism'. Some critics have chosen to describe them in different ways. They have used terms like 'mechanism', 'construct' or 'structure'. The choice of terms is an important one since it is usually indicative of the critic's general intellectual position.

In describing a work of art as an organism, Robin Wood indicates his choice. He is, in fact, choosing a 'vitalist' position though I doubt he is aware of this. The nature of his choice is made clear in passages like the one I quoted where he attacks *High Noon*. He makes his general judgment of the film in terms of a series of contrasting epithets. On the bad side are mental, contrivance, construction, manipulation; on the good side emotional, intuitive, inner logic, organic development, natural processes. It is not hard to derive from these contrasting epithets a position that sees human value in terms of man's relationship with nature, stresses the emotional, intuitive aspects of consciousness, is hostile to the industrial, mechanical world, and suspicious of the rational, willing aspects of consciousness. Such a position deriving from the nineteenth-century biology (hence the use of the term 'organism') needs to be defended. The need to defend it no doubt seemed less obvious in the first decades of the twentieth-century when Leavis was formulating his position and when 'vitalism' was very much part of the intellectual atmosphere through the writings of such diverse figures as Bergson, Samuel Butler, Shaw and Lawrence. Fifty years later when we have been made aware of the defects of the position there is a much stronger onus on people who accept it to defend it or at least to show some consciousness of the position they have chosen.

2. *The Place of Moral Values in Leavis's Criticism* Robin Wood

challenges my account of the place of moral values in Leavis's criticism. Certainly, by talking about 'central moral values' and 'a set of absolute values' I gave the impression of something substantial and well defined. I accept Robin Wood's insistence that Leavis offers something much looser than this. I should have more accurately referred to a moral attitude or a moral stance.

I think this moral attitude can be summed up in the terms offered by Robin Wood, 'the artists should be deeply, sensitively and intelligently involved with life'. But I don't agree that this is all that can be said about Leavis's moral attitude. While Leavis never explicitly defines what he means by being deeply, sensitively and intelligently involved with life, he does implicitly offer a definition. No attentive reader of Leavis could fail to notice certain recurrent terms like 'maturity', 'wholeness of being', 'reverence for life' or recurrent concepts like the importance of marriage. By putting these terms and concepts together we can get a fair idea of what counts for Leavis as evidence of being deeply, sensitively and intelligently involved with life.

Robin Wood's account of the way this moral attitude functions as a critical criterion shows an unawareness of the issues such a procedure raises. Either the idea of being deeply, sensitively and intelligently involved in life can be defined in which case it is acting as an absolute criterion in the way I said it was. Or it can't be defined in which case it isn't a very helpful notion since the critic can pronounce any work of art he thinks 'great' as evidence that the artist is deeply, sensitively and intelligently involved with life. In fact 'great' has become interchangeable with 'deeply, sensitively and intelligently involved with life' in a meaningless way.

In common with Leavis, Robin Wood wants to have it both ways. He tells us it is *virtually impossible* to define the terms. What force does 'virtually' have in this context? Either it is possible to define the terms or it isn't. So far as I can see Leavision critics want to evade the issues for two reasons, one good, one bad. The good reason is that they don't want to produce a criterion that is so limited that it cannot cope with a variety of works of art. So they insist on the need for flexibility. The bad reason is that they don't want to put themselves into a position where they can be challenged on the level of their basic assumptions. By keeping their position in a very fluid state they can always reply to the critic who challenges their position that he misrepresents them.

3. *Criticism as the Establishing of Values* Robin Wood challenges my view that Leavis is only concerned with the great work of art by pointing to references to a number of lesser artists and poems in

Revaluation. If I had said that Robin Wood was only concerned with great films and he had replied that he wasn't and that if I opened his book on Hitchcock I should find that on page 22 he deals with *From Russia with Love* and on page 100 he deals with *Goldfinger* neither of which he has a very high regard for, would anybody think that such a reply gave a satisfactory indication of Robin Wood's critical position?

I hardly think so. It is quite clear that he only refers to these films in order to establish Hitchcock's absolute superiority (his greatness?). Leavis's procedure is essentially the same. It is true that he refers to lesser artists and works of art but his central concern is always to indicate what is most valuable in art. Anybody who read the introduction to *Revaluation* (as opposed to opening the book at random and looking at odd pages) would understand this.

This procedure is hardly surprising given the perspective Robin Wood tries to establish for criticism: 'Criticism must begin and end with a sense of value, whatever comes in between. If the purpose of criticism is not a discussion of values, then I don't see what it is.' The obvious method to come from such a view of criticism is the establishing of what is best and then measuring everything by it. .

'(Fielding) is important not because he leads to Jane Austen, to appreciate whose distinction is to feel that life isn't long enough to permit of one's giving much time to Fielding or any to Mr. Priestley.' (*The Great Tradition*, p. 3.) Even if I were to accept that the task of criticism is the establishing of values, I don't think the attitude expressed by Leavis in this quotation is a helpful one for an art like the cinema where critical judgments are so uncertainly based. To take the obvious example, a few years ago Hitchcock had a reputation that was close to J. B. Priestley's (a craftsman, good entertainer, etc.). Today he has a reputation that in terms of film criticism is close to that of Jane Austen's in literature. The ideal attitude for any film critic at the present time must surely be that any film-maker is worth serious consideration.

However I don't accept that the main purpose of film criticism is the making of value judgments. When Robin Wood asks what is obviously meant to be a rhetorical question, 'Do we simply grit our teeth and plunge in, shuddering, to undertake structural analyses of Basil Dearden, Ralph Thomas, Guy Hamilton and the Boulting Brothers' our differing attitudes to criticism become clear. My answer to this question is Yes. For me criticism's first task is not to establish value but to try and understand the nature of the cinema (all of the cinema) and its ways of operating. Once this has been done we may be able to raise questions about critical values—though there

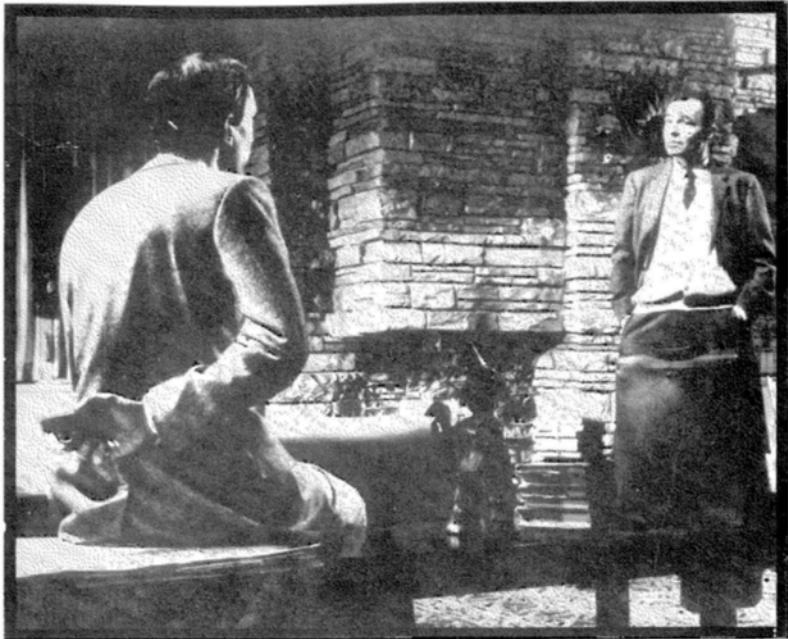
are important philosophical issues about the status of value judgments that need to be resolved before we can do this with any confidence. In the meantime I certainly think discussion of the British cinema would be more profitable if we undertook structural analyses of those directors Robin Wood so much despises. If criticism is to be worth anything it will have to do more than simply deal with a few directors who have arbitrarily been pronounced great. It will have, for example, to abandon the pseudo-psychological moralizing view that people who are amused and involved by *Goldfinger* are indulging their penchant for sadism and sexual kicks and begin to offer some explanation of the aesthetic response they are making to the film.

4. *Hitchcock and Artistic Conventions* I accused Robin Wood of not substantiating his judgments of Thornhill in *North by North West*. In his reply he seems to suggest that our disagreement cannot be resolved because of the lack of a shared, stable system of beliefs and values. I think he has missed the point of my criticism. Let me try to raise it again by making it more explicit and detailed.

The response we make to a character in any fiction depends on the basic convention of that fiction. In a novel by George Eliot we are invited to make moral judgments on the characters in a direct way: in a novel by Iris Murdoch we are invited to make moral judgments on the characters in an indirect way. This is because the convention of a George Eliot novel is one that might be called moral realism and the convention of an Iris Murdoch novel is one that might be called stylized comedy.

My argument is that the convention of *North by North West* is closer to that of an Iris Murdoch novel than it is to a George Eliot novel. Take as an example a scene Robin Wood quotes in his description of Thornhill's character when Thornhill cheats two people out of a taxi by pretending his secretary is ill. For Robin Wood this demonstrates Thornhill is irresponsible and inconsiderate of others. For me it demonstrates Thornhill's ability for quick improvisation (getting the taxi by inventing an excuse on the spur of the moment) and witty rationalization (his claim that he has made the people he cheated out of the taxi feel like Good Samaritans). I don't feel I am invited to make a moral judgment of any kind on the way he behaves in this incident.

Either reading of the incident is plausible if we look at it in the abstract. If we take into account the fact that the convention of *North by North West* is that of the comedy thriller my suggestion, I think, makes more sense. It refers to the comic element of the film in a way that Robin Wood's severe moral judgment on Thornhill doesn't. And it places Thornhill in terms of the thriller element – his ability for quick improvisation is to stand him in good stead later on



North by Northwest: Cary Grant in the role of Thornhill – ‘a capacity for quick improvisation’



in the film in scenes like the auction where he escapes the Vandamm gang by doing the opposite of what he has been doing up until then – calling attention to himself.

I am not principally concerned to show that my reading of *North by North West* is more illuminating than Robin Wood's. What I am trying to suggest is that in making particular judgments the critic must always bear in mind the basic convention of the film. Robin Wood implicitly recognizes this when he writes in his reply, 'Hitchcock opens the film with shots of anonymous, hurrying crowds out of which Thornhill emerges. Their function could be simply to

tell us that Thornhill lives in a city or that it is a rush hour.' There must be some way for the audience to recognize what kind of status Hitchcock wishes to give these shots. Or are we to regard all films which show people walking in crowds along city pavements as comments on modern urban society? I'm trying to suggest that the basic convention of a film helps us make decisions like this. Robin Wood seems to me not to be concerned with questions of this kind because he implicitly takes the basic convention of all films to be that of moral realism.

5. *Arthur Penn* It would take too much space and divert me too far from my main purposes to engage in a detailed debate about Penn's films (Can I suggest to the Editors that this debate might profitably be continued by a discussion of *Alice's Restaurant*?).

Robin Wood's comments on my account of Penn suggests he didn't have much notion of what I was trying to do. I wanted to create a framework for an exploration of Penn's work not to provide a total account of each film. I'm well aware that there is more to be said about Annie Sullivan than I said in my article. When I am tentative in my estimate of *Bonnie and Clyde* I am tentative because I realize that other things need to be taken into account (though these are not Robin Wood's 'marvellous local life' which I don't happen to find in the film).

His misunderstanding of what I was trying to do is the result of an obvious prejudice which connects any attempt to be 'scientific' or 'systematic' with results like 'schematic' or 'fitting into formulas'. This prejudice is in line with his persistent suspicion and ignorance of the nature and purpose of analytic methods.

6. *The Structure of Robin Wood's book on Hawks* Robin Wood claims that I hadn't properly read his book on Hawks. In support of this claim he says, 'Nothing I write suggests that I value *To Have and Have Not* (for example) above *Monkey Business*, *Air Force*, *Red River* or *Red Line 7000* (to take one film from each of the four succeeding chapters)'. When a critic keeps his evaluations implicit as, following Leavision procedure, Robin Wood does, it is difficult to say precisely how he rates one film against another, unless he regards one of them as having radical and obvious weaknesses.

Let me, however, take up his challenge and compare what he says about *To Have and Have Not* and *Red River*. He doesn't explicitly say that he thinks one film is better than the other. But his discussion of *To Have and Have Not* contains general estimates like 'In fact – frivolous popular entertainment or not – *To Have and Have Not* embodies one of the most basic anti-fascist statements the cinema has given us. The sense of moral outrage at the infringement of individual liberty

expressed through Bogart's performance is, in its purity and simplicity of feeling, unanswerable: one feels behind it all of Hawks's belief in the individual need for integrity and self respect' (*Howard Hawks*, p. 26). This seems to me to be making a high claim for the film. Nowhere in his account of the film does he qualify the claim. He finds no flaws in it and he ends his account by comparing it favourably to *The Big Sleep*.

The only general estimates of *Red River* are in terms of comparisons with *Rio Bravo*: 'But it (*Red River*) lacks the concentrated density of *Rio Bravo* working in a studio with only a few actors, Hawks could encourage and organize a natural organic development from the basic material. There are two weaknesses in the construction of *Red River* . . .' (*Howard Hawks*, p. 123). The account of the film ends with 'Red River may lack the density of organization of *Rio Bravo*, but it is by no means the rambling and episodic work it may appear to the casual observer.' (*Howard Hawks*, p. 129.)

A high claim is made for *To Have and Have Not*; no qualifications are offered; no weaknesses pointed to; a favourable comparison is made between it and another of Hawks's films. The general claims for *Red River* are made in terms of two unfavourable comparisons with *Rio Bravo*; specific weaknesses are pointed to. It doesn't seem unreasonable to conclude that Robin Wood thinks *To Have and Have Not* is a better film than *Red River*.

I suppose Robin Wood might reply that despite the weaknesses in *Red River* he still thinks it as good as *To Have and Have Not* because its successes are of a high order. In which case he must, in the interest of clarity, make his judgment explicit otherwise readers will persist in coming to the wrong conclusion.

For there is other evidence to support the view that he values *To Have and Have Not* more highly than *Red River*. Compare his estimates of the other films included in the respective chapters. *To Have and Have Not* is grouped with *Only Angels have Wings* and *Rio Bravo*. *Only Angels have Wings* is described as 'a completely achieved masterpiece and a remarkably inclusive film, drawing together the main thematic threads of Hawks's work in a single, complex work'. (*Howard Hawks*, p. 17.) *Rio Bravo* is described in the following way: 'If I were asked to choose a film that would justify the existence of Hollywood, I think it would be *Rio Bravo*. Hawks is at his most completely personal and individual when his work is most firmly traditional . . .' (*Howard Hawks*, p. 35.)

Red River is included in a chapter with *A Girl in Every Port*, *The Big Sky* and *Come and Get It*. Some dissatisfaction is expressed with each of these films.

Again it doesn't seem unreasonable to conclude on the evidence of their context (and there being no indications to the contrary) that in terms of quality *To Have and Have Not* is associated with *Rio Bravo* and *Only Angels Have Wings*; *Red River* with *A Girl in Every Port*; *The Big Sky* and *Come and Get It*. The comparison between the two chapters that deal with these films is of some importance because it was between them that I suggested the central structure of the book could be found.

I don't see any powerful reason to change my description of the structure of the book unless it's to say that the structure is less coherent than I made it seem – clearly the high estimate Wood makes of *Air Force* is out of place within the structure I described. To put my position at its weakest, there are grounds for confusion about the structure of the book. If Robin Wood thought me to be 'a serious and honest critic' he might have tried to sort out my confusion. That he opts for the explanation that I haven't read the book doesn't seem to me evidence of somebody pursuing true judgment.

7. *Judgments about Life*. At the end of his reply Robin Wood quotes a passage from Leavis's *Lectures in America* to the effect that the judgments a literary critic is concerned with are judgments about life. I should like to quote two of Leavis's judgments about life from the same essay: 'I myself after an unaffluent and very much "engaged" academic life am not familiar with Majorca or Florence, but in those once very quiet places very much nearer Cambridge to which my wife and I used to take our children, the working class people everywhere to be met with in profusion carry transistors around with them almost invariably. The music that comes from these, like that one hears in greater volume in the neighbourhood of Bingo establishments (of which the smallest coast-hamlet has at least one – Bingo being the most pathetic of vacuum fillers) doesn't at once suggest aspirations towards Beethoven' (p. 5). And on page 20: 'Those who talk of two (cultures) and of joining them would present us impressively with the sum of two nothings: it is the void the modern world tackles with drugs, sex and alcohol.' To which a supplementary footnote says, 'And, I can now add, "student unrest" and the vote and majority status at 18.'

Are judgments like these, complacently snobbish and socially unaware, the kind of judgments about life we are to expect from a lifetime of developing the literary intelligence? If so, the sooner we develop another kind of intelligence the better.

Looking back over this article I am conscious that the positive suggestions for film criticism that I made in my first article have got rather lost from sight. The nature of Robin Wood's reply has forced

me to concentrate on restating my basic plea for a film criticism with more analytic equipment and more aesthetic and philosophic depth. I am sorry to be forced into this position because at the present time film criticism has real opportunities to develop in a positive way. A discussion has been opened up in this country that could make film criticism both rigorous and subtle. For the moment the discussion is wide ranging but incoherent, ambitious but in danger of falling over into pretension. That this should be so is hardly surprising given the diversity of the ideas present in the debate: ideas derived from structural linguistics and anthropology (structuralism and semiology), from literary criticism and art history (genre and iconography), from sociology (the relationships between art and industry, the nature of movements). If film criticism is to stop being intellectually amateur, it needs to make a sympathetic, sustained response to these ideas.

NOTE: I should apologize to readers of *Screen* for the lateness of this reply. The delay was in part due to pressure of work caused by absences in the Education Department and in part to the hope that other people would take up the issues. This hasn't happened in *Screen* unfortunately though it has in other places (see Phil Hardy's article in the *Brighton Film Review*, No. 15) and the review in *The Times Literary Supplement* (9.10.69) of Robin Wood's recent book on Ingmar Bergman.

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STROHEIM'S Walking Down Broadway

JOEL W. FINLER

Walking Down Broadway in 1932 was the ninth and last feature film directed by Erich von Stroheim, who is best remembered today as one of the outstanding directors of the late silent period, and as an excellent film actor. Born Erich Oswald Stroheim in Vienna in 1885, he emigrated to the US around 1906. After trying his hand at a variety of jobs and professions, he arrived in Hollywood in 1914 shortly before Griffith began to film *The Birth of a Nation*. Stroheim worked as an extra and assistant director on this film and on *Intolerance* one year later, and during the years which followed he developed an international reputation as an actor, most often called upon to portray an evil, germanic officer type and affectionately known as 'the man you love to hate'.

By 1918, he had gained enough filming experience to make his debut as actor-writer-director in *Blind Husbands*, which he shot for the new Universal studio under Carl Laemmle. Stroheim's sophisticated and intelligent approach to films on a variety of European subjects and settings during the twenties marks him as one of the few great silent film directors. But the alleged extravagance and undoubtedly outspokenness of his film-making brought him into conflict with film producers and censors alike. Of all his films, as a director, only the first two, *Blind Husbands* and *The Devil's Passkey* (1919), were released in the form which he intended, and no prints of this latter work appear to survive today. His well-known feud with Irving Thalberg which began at Universal during the filming of *Foolish Wives* (1921) and *Merry-go-Round* (1922), which was completed by director Rupert Julian, continued at MGM where Stroheim's ten-hour version of *Greed* (1923-4) was ruthlessly cut down to two and three-quarter hours and *The Merry Widow* (1925) was cut and censored but proved to be a great commercial success, nevertheless. At Paramount, Stroheim was taken off the two-part film, *The Wedding March* (1927-8) before he could complete it, and likewise, the producers of *Queen Kelly* (1928) decided to halt production of the film due to the widespread adoption of sound.

After the abrupt termination of the filming of *Queen Kelly* Stroheim worked only sporadically in Hollywood during the early years of the sound film. He was employed mainly as a script-writer, military and technical adviser, or actor before leaving for France towards the end of 1936 where he was highly regarded as an actor and appeared in such well-known films as Renoir's *La Grande Illusion* (1937) and Christian-Jacques's *Les Disparus de St Agil*. However, he had directed a sound film for Fox in 1932 which, until recently, appeared to provide an unfortunate footnote to his career as a director.

As I wrote in my book on *Stroheim* in 1967:

After shooting was completed on *As You Desire Me* (in which he starred opposite Garbo), Stroheim was given another opportunity to direct. It was to end in disaster. *Walking Down Broadway* (1932) was Stroheim's last film as a director and his only sound film. It was never released by Fox but was completely re-shot by another director and retitled *Hello Sister!* The tragedy in this case is that, unlike his previous producer difficulties, the shelving of *Walking Down Broadway* had nothing to do with Stroheim.

He was caught in a producers' feud at Fox between Sol Wurtzel and Winfield Sheehan. This time Stroheim appeared to be striking out in a new direction which could have given a new lease of life to his career as director. The film had been made on a relatively modest budget without big stars, yet bore Stroheim's personal stamp. Possibly a moderate commercial success could have re-established a niche for him, allowing a maximum amount of artistic freedom within a limited budget in much the same way that some of the best directors operate today. But it was not to be, and the unsatisfactory remains of *Queen Kelly* represent the last work of Stroheim as a director that can be seen today. . . .

Unfortunately, not enough is known about *Walking Down Broadway* to allow us to place it properly in relation to Stroheim's other work. The film has often been paired with *Greed*, because of its contemporary American setting, but as with *Greed*, this does not necessarily place it outside the mainstream of Stroheim's development.

The fullest description of this completely unknown 'film maudit' was Stroheim's own, brief synopsis which had first appeared in *Film Culture* in January, 1955 (courtesy of Herman Weinberg) and was subsequently reprinted in the Canadian Film Archive's *Hommage à Stroheim* (1966) and Jon Barna's *Erich von Stroheim* (Oesterreichisches Film-museum, 1966). But about six months ago I came across a full-length story version of the film among the British Museum's collection in a thirties fan magazine entitled *Screen Romances*. This

They Met..They Looked..They Loved!

The high-speed romance of a modern boy and girl. They meet in the glare and blare of The Great White Way. They look. They love. They suffer. They struggle. And finally find happiness.

A swell cast...including the ever popular James Dunn and Boots Mallory—You'll agree with us that here's a great "bet" when you've seen her!.

WALKING DOWN BROADWAY

with

James
DUNN
Boots
MALLORY

ZaSu Pitts
Mina Gombell
Terrance Ray

Directed by
Erich von Stroheim
A FOX PICTURE



ZaSu Pitts the most popular comedienne on the screen today.



Boots Mallory the most popular boy on the screen today.

The full-page advertisement published in the magazine *Screen Romances* (December 1932) for a film that was never released

description of the film, illustrated with a number of stills, along with the full-page advert which had appeared in the previous issue (December, 1932), suggests that the film had been completed and was ready for release (see still). And although presented in the style of the typical fan magazine fiction, this version which is much more detailed, and completely consistent with Stroheim's own synopsis, suggests many parallels with Stroheim's earlier films.

The story is a variation on the well-known theme of the innocent, small-town girl's experiences in the Big City like *My Sister Eileen*. One Saturday evening Peggy and Millie are picked up by two young men, Mac and Jimmy, as they are 'walking down Broadway'. Mac, the flashy dresser and fast talker, makes a play for Peggy, the prettier of the two, while Jimmy is left with Millie. The opening of the film is described in *Screen Romances* as follows:

Walking down Broadway, two girls hesitated before a shop-window. One girl (she was thin, with a sad, homely face) whispered to the other: 'They're right behind us!' The other (she was younger and freshly pretty) said timidly: 'Are they?' The two boys who had kept track of them in the evening crowd paused alongside. The one in the vanguard wore a cap and a grin, a striped tie and a checked suit. The other boy hung back. He was tall, with a pleasant, mobile face, now terribly embarrassed.

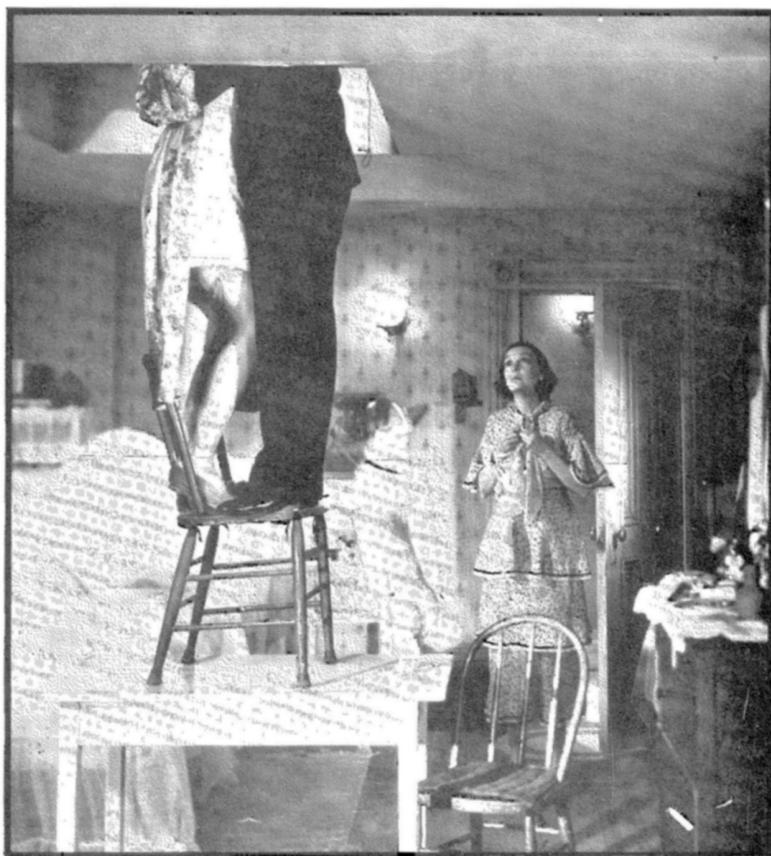
The homely girl underwent a pathetic transformation. She ogled. She nudged her friend. She fluttered a handkerchief that might better have been a tablecloth.

The 'homely girl' is, of course, played by ZaSu Pitts in her third major role for Stroheim which bears an interesting relationship to Trina Sieppe in *Greed* and Cecelia in *The Wedding March*. But it is difficult to appreciate her performances as none of the three films was released in the form which Stroheim intended. Her gradual transformation from a pretty and loving wife into a miserly and disfigured charlady was destroyed by the mutilation of *Greed*, while her role in *The Wedding March* was meant to take on an added depth in the ill-fated second part (*The Honeymoon*) which was taken out of Stroheim's hands, and no prints appear to have survived. Even the ad for *Walking Down Broadway* ignores her talent as a serious actress and types her as a 'comedienne'.

Millie (ZaSu) is described by Stroheim as 'a very complicated and interesting character, in love with love, an introvert, an accident chaser, a mortophile, who goes to funeral parlours on Saturday afternoons to have a good cry at some stranger's last rites. In short, a psychopathic case.' She and Peggy each have a room in a brown-

stone boarding house located at 47th St and 9th Ave, while Mona (Minna Gombell), their sophisticated friend, lives on the floor below. And since the two young men share a flat just across the street, this allows Stroheim to concentrate our interest on this particular West side neighbourhood in New York just as San Francisco's Polk St district served as the main setting for *Greed*.

When the foursome return to the girls' house, Mac switches his interest to the striking Mona La Rue (her name sounds more like that of a stripper than a model), and they go off to her room. As played by Minna Gombell, Mona is related to those sophisticated and cynical blondes found in many of Stroheim's films and most often portrayed by Maud George (Seena Owen in *Queen Kelly* provides an additional example). The contrast between the two men and their initial attraction to the same girl (Peggy) recalls the



James Dunn and Boots Mallory kiss for the first time observed by
Zasu Pitts



Minna Gombell and Terrance Ray in *Walking Down Broadway*

identical situation in the opening reels of *Greed*. Mac in *Walking Down Broadway* and Marcus in *Greed* are playboy types out of a similar mould with a similar taste for flashy clothes.

Left alone, Jimmy and Peggy are attracted to each other. She shows him the roof garden through the transom, and as they are precariously perched on a chair they kiss for the first time, ignoring the pet dog and Millie who has just entered the room. This scene recalls a similarly dramatic first kiss between Trina and McTeague in *Greed* and the wedding night embrace when Trina balances on tiptoe on McTeague's giant feet as two pet birds can be seen in their cage in the background.

From this point on, the film develops very much like *The Wedding March* with a similar attempted rape scene (Mac in pursuit of Peggy) and a triangle situation whereby Millie comes between Jim and Peggy, just as Cecelia (ZaSu) is forced to marry Nicki and thus come between him and his true love, Mitzi. But both films end with the two lovers finally united at ZaSu's death bed.

Fortunately, the story of *Walking Down Broadway* does not end here, for the most recent news from the States is that a complete print of the film has been discovered in the vaults of Twentieth Century-Fox

and hopefully it will be shown at the National Film Theatre later this year. According to William Everson who has seen the film (which bears the title *Hello Sister!* and lacks any credits!) it is not a mutilated version of Stroheim's original. He estimates that the film is about 90 per cent Stroheim and very clearly recognizable as such. It only appears to have been tampered with through the insertion of some comic bits which are awkwardly intercut with a number of scenes, along with an unconvincing explosion in the house at the film's climax. The film does not look like a cheap 'B' picture, but makes full use of an elaborate exterior set of New York City not unlike that in *Hello Dolly*. I.e. since much of the film is confined to a single West side neighbourhood, Stroheim was able to make full use of a single exterior set. Some excellent acting and photography by James Wong Howe suggest that *Walking Down Broadway* will prove an important addition to that small group of memorable films made during the early years of the sound period.

Of all the great silent film directors Stroheim's technique should have most easily lent itself to the sound medium. And this film may prove once and for all how great a loss to the cinema was caused by the fact that Stroheim was not given another chance to direct a film during the remaining twenty-five years of his life – in spite of his many interesting projects. He continued to be dogged by bad luck and hostile producers. A number of his film projects were published as novels: *Poto-Poto* (1933) which was published in France in 1956, *Paprika*, published in New York in 1935, and *Les Feux de la Saint-Jean* published in France in two parts (in 1951 and 1954). After Stroheim left for France in 1936, a film appeared, based on his story and script, called *Between Two Women* (directed by George B. Seitz), but it was substantially altered from the version which he had hoped to direct himself.

Stroheim's luck was no better in France where the outbreak of war in 1939 brought a halt to his most ambitious film project entitled, *La Dame Blanche*, which was all set to begin shooting. He returned to the US during the war and appeared in many Hollywood films during the 1940–46 years including Billy Wilder's *Five Graves to Cairo* (1943) (in which he played Field-Marshal Rommel), Lewis Milestone's *The North Star* (1943) and Anthony Mann's *The Great Flamarion* (1945). For the first time in his life, Stroheim played on the stage, in an extremely successful production of *Arsenic and Old Lace*.

After the war he returned to France where he continued his career as a film actor and also worked on the script and dialogue for a film version of Strindberg's *La Danse de Mort* (1947), directed by Marcel

Cravenne) in which he played the lead opposite his wife Denise Vernac. He made only one trip back to the US, to play the role written specially for him in Billy Wilder's *Sunset Boulevard* (1950). He died at his home in Maurepas, near Paris, in 1957.

Joel Finler is film critic for *Time Out*.

FILM CREDITS

Director Erich von Stroheim, *screenplay* Stroheim and Leonard Spigelgass, *adapted from the play* by Dawn Powell, *dialogue* Stroheim, *photography* James Wong Howe, *music* Frank E. Hull, *Production company* Fox. *Cast:* MILLIE PLUMMER: ZaSu Pitts, PEGGY: Boots Mallory, JAMES 'JIMMY' MORGAN: James Dunn, MATTHEW 'MAC' MACGRATH: Terrance Ray, MONA LA RUE: Minna Gombell, William Stanton.

Note: Later this year Lorrimer will be publishing the complete 10-hour script of *Greed* as originally conceived by Stroheim. Illustrated by more than a hundred stills, many of them never before published, the script is also designed to show exactly which scenes have been cut from the mutilated release version of the film. (Edited and with introduction by J. W. Finler.)

DICKENS AND HITCHCOCK

EDWARD BUSCOMBE

Five or six years ago, when *Movie* was in its heyday, comparisons between the cinema and literature might have been regarded as a kind of blacklegging, a sell-out to those who valued only those films which had some sort of literary content. Loyalties to the cinema had to be one hundred per cent or nothing. Before that time, to compare the work of a director of thrillers with that of a great English novelist (and especially to imply that it might be of comparable value) would have been considered by the few people who were interested in both to be, at best, eccentric. (Before that again, back in the twenties when Dickens's reputation had suffered in the Stracheyan attack on all things Victorian, it might just have been possible, if anyone at all who read Dickens had heard of Hitchcock.) Now, the work of the *Movie* critics and others, if it has not won the war, has established a solid front. The fortress mentality, almost inevitable in the past, is not so necessary now. The base having been established, we can make excursions.

In fact, we are positively invited to do so by Peter Wollen in *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema*:¹

'We need comparisons with authors in the other arts: Ford with Fenimore Cooper, for example, or Hawks with Faulkner.' And his is the right emphasis; not that we try to raise Hitchcock by comparing him with Dickens, but that we can understand the cinema better if, sure of our commitment to it, we can establish contact with the other arts. Of these, the novel seems to me to offer the most profitable line of enquiry. I take it that the cinema is essentially a narrative art² – or at least, has been so far. Documentaries and all kinds of experimental films have existed from the beginning, but no one can say they have constituted the mainstream or that anything but a fraction of the cinema's greatest achievements have been in those fields. And so with the novel. *Ulysses* may have broadened people's ideas about what a story might be, but there is little evidence at the moment that anything but a small minority of determinedly experimental novelists

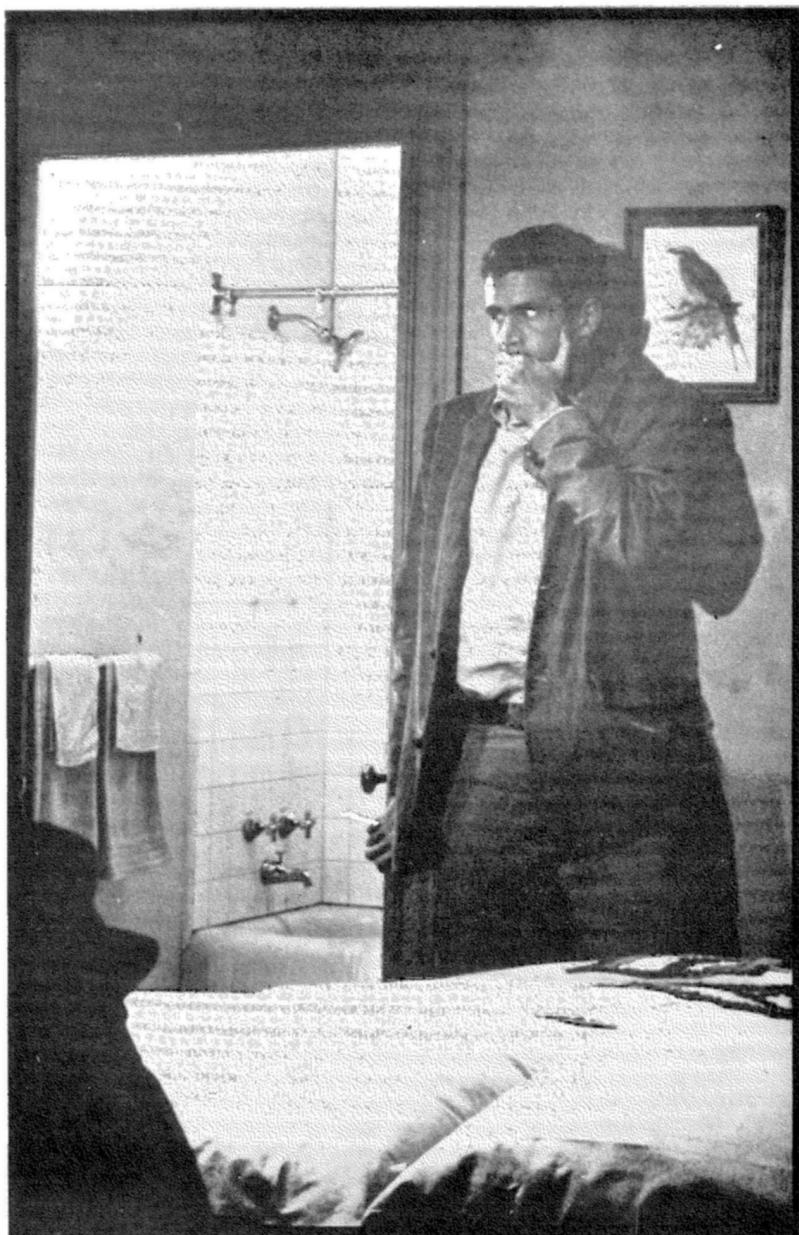
are abandoning narrative. This may happen, but I prefer to leave prophecy to those who would welcome such a change more than I.

There are two main reasons, once a novelist is decided on, for choosing Dickens. He and Hitchcock compare both as artists and as cultural phenomena. I hope to show that to some extent, too, the kind of artists they are arises out of the circumstances in which they work.

To argue that a writer's work may be affected by the conditions he works in has not been a popular occupation with literary critics in England and America. Of course there have been exceptions, but generally it has been held that sociology and aesthetics do not mix. In film criticism such purism hasn't so far been common. This is partly, perhaps, because it hasn't yet become an academic study, so making necessary a definition of criticism which rigidly excludes the approaches of other disciplines.* And no doubt the hostility of many to anything that smacks of Marxism has something to do with it. but most obviously, the cinema is nearer to being an industry than any other art and so non-aesthetic factors cannot be entirely ignored. Even the auteur theory, which holds generally that the auteur is responsible for what appears on the screen, often gratefully resorts to explaining the failure of a film by a chosen director as the result of his being forced by his contract to tackle an uncongenial subject or the film's having been re-edited by the producer against the director's wishes. And looking from such particular localized factors to the wider economic and social circumstances, films, unlike, say, poetry, cannot continue to be produced unless they make money, unless in some way they reflect what large numbers of people want to see. Literary criticism has paid some attention, though not much, to the relation between literature and the social structure, and scarcely any so far to the non-artistic factors surrounding the genesis of a particular work. All too often literature has been regarded as the creation of an artist working in the confines of his study; or, if his social situation has been treated, it has been done so in a vague and abstract kind of way.

For various reasons with the study of the cinema this sort of attitude has been slow to form and fortunately the position with Dickens is similar. We know quite a lot from his notes and plans about the processes of creation of his novels. And, in another direction, a great deal of work has been done in recovering in detail the social background to his work – what workhouses were like in Oliver Twist's

*Until recently film criticism has been at the comparatively primitive stage of having to prove that there was something worth criticizing at all. The auteur theory largely serves to perform this essential preliminary; the judgments that follow after it don't, often, depend on any theory at all. But no doubt they increasingly will.



Psycho: Murder in a lonely spot

time and so forth. Dickens's novels are very 'impure', his involvement with the fabric of Victorian life is so great that it is difficult (though it has been managed) to treat his work as autonomous, not requiring in the reader any knowledge of its setting.

However, I don't intend to make an exhaustive study of the way Dickens and Hitchcock transmute social reality into fiction or of how their work is in part the product of a social structure or of the economic forces operating in the film and publishing industry. Firstly, this would require a book. Secondly, much of the information required on Hitchcock is not immediately accessible. And thirdly, I may as well declare now that it is difficult for someone under thirty and living outside London to have the familiarity with Hitchcock's work that this would require. I've seen under a third of his total output. What I want to do is to suggest some connections which further work might pursue.

In dealing with them as cultural phenomena, I shall be concerned only with factors which, while external to the work itself, have some bearings on it. I'm not sure, for example, that their shared enthusiasm for practical jokes is any more relevant than the differences in their physique (Dickens was small and wiry). The major point to be made is that in a period when the artist has been supposed to be alienated from society, both achieved enormous commercial success. And, what is equally important, there is no evidence that either ever felt that anything in the way of artistic integrity had to be sacrificed for it. Both seem to have been quite happy to go on doing what they enjoyed doing, without any feeling that they should have been producing something more 'serious' or intellectually respectable. Dickens had had a great deal of trouble with his publishers and they had a great deal of trouble with him. There were endless arguments over money, contracts and copyrights as Dickens sought to achieve the maximum of artistic freedom and the greatest possible financial security. Similarly Hitchcock found it necessary to become his own producer in order to gain full control of his work. But he has never used this power to depart from the kind of film he had previously made. Another way of putting this would be to say that Hitchcock's own taste has coincided with that of the audience he has built up for himself. He seems to have felt no urge to move in other directions, towards, say, a more personal kind of expression, in the way that Antonioni or Fellini have, for example.

But, one might object, the same is true of many Hollywood directors; and this is so. I am using Hitchcock here as one example among many of how Hollywood disproves the facile theory that great art can only expect a minority audience. One could equally well take Ford or Hawks. Hitchcock though is a particularly good example for

two reasons. Firstly, his films form more of a unity than those of any comparable figure. Very early in his career (with *The Lodger* in 1926) he found what he was best suited to doing. Since that date all his successful films have been in the suspense thriller genre. He has gone outside this only rarely (*Waltzes from Vienna*, *Mr. and Mrs. Smith*) and has, by his own admission and by his own high standards, failed. No other director has worked so well and so consistently in one genre. In this he compares directly with Dickens, who similarly discovered early on (also, in fact, at the age of 26) that special combination of humour, pathos and mystery ('Make 'em laugh, make 'em cry, make 'em wait') which typifies all his writings. The proportion of each may change, but basically the mixture remained the same.

Two contrasting examples will help to explain what I mean. George Eliot, whose first novel *Adam Bede* was a financial and critical success, went on to produce *The Mill on the Floss* in a similar mould. But in her third novel, *Romola*, she tried something quite different; a thoroughly researched account of life in fifteenth-century Florence. I don't want to suggest that she thought her stories of English rural life weren't 'important' enough; but the way in which the book was conceived demonstrates how, in this case, a wrong idea of what seriousness and importance were led to an artistic disaster. Her latest biographer writes:

'George Eliot undertook her second Italian journey with "grave purposes", she told Blackwood. To write convincingly about fifteenth-century Florence she needed more detailed knowledge than she had gathered during her two weeks there in 1860. She intended to return and immerse herself in the history and atmosphere of Florence, hoping that a story would grow around the events of Savonarola's life.'³ Dickens never departed from his methods in this way and never felt dissatisfied with them. When he did write historical novels, the historical material doesn't get in the way of the story and one doesn't feel that he started with an intellectual idea and then searched round for a story to fit it. Even *Hard Times* is no exception. The documentation doesn't swamp the plot and characters.

Hitchcock's films can be contrasted with that of a number of British directors who began by showing some degree of talent and who have subsequently lost their way. I am thinking of people like Karel Reisz, Clive Donner, Bryan Forbes, Tony Richardson. In each case, I think one can argue, their ambition led them to attempt something more 'significant', as though they were not satisfied that their earlier work was important enough. I don't mean, obviously, that a director should not develop or that he should stick to one genre, or to a genre at all. But with these directors development took the form of rejecting

their early work as being of a kind which was too limiting to their talents. With all of them there is this sense that they had to find a 'big' subject. In this respect, Hitchcock is the best example of a director who has chosen to make, basically, the same kind of film and who, through his own artistic development in it, has expanded the suspense-thriller genre, rather than believing that he has outgrown it. Again, the same is true of Hawks or Ford; but neither has been as single-minded in his devotion to one genre to such an extent that it could be said, as it could of Hitchcock, that he virtually invented it and almost single-handed explored the full range of which it is capable.

The second reason why Dickens and Hitchcock make a specially good pair to compare as cultural phenomena is that both are showmen. This is more than a resemblance in personality; it extends into the whole question of the supposed opposition between art and commercial success. Neither are the least bit chary of presenting themselves as public figures. Dickens twice made what were in effect publicity tours of America. Naturally he wanted to see the country. But he didn't mind the country seeing him. The tours were marked by a series of celebrity appearances at soirées, dinners and the like. When people cut off locks of his hair as souvenirs he protested a little but there is no doubt that generally he enjoyed it. Later in his life he began a series of public readings from his books. The performances excited him so much that they became a danger to his health. But he wouldn't stop and they undoubtedly contributed to his comparatively early death. Forster, his friend and first biographer, objected to the readings, not so much on the grounds of their effect on Dickens's health, but because he thought they were undignified: 'It was a substitution of lower for higher aims; a change to commonplace from more elevated pursuits; and it had so much of the character of a public exhibition for money as to raise, in the question of respect for his calling as a writer, a question also of respect for himself as a gentleman.'⁴

In a very similar way, Hitchcock has been involved in the process of building up his name to the extent where it frequently takes precedence over those of the stars of his films. So, in an advertisement in *Movie* No. 4 for the re-release of *The Man Who Knew Too Much* Hitchcock's name appears three times, James Stewart's once.* Hitchcock's habit of appearing in his own films, of substituting a filmed introduction by himself for the usual kind of trailer (*Psycho*), and his endorsement of a television series mostly directed by others, all reveal no trace of that fastidious avoidance of vulgar showmanship

*It doesn't give the appearance of being especially designed for *Movie* cognoscenti; Hawks's name, in an advertisement for *Hatari* in *Movie* No. 4 is given nothing like the same prominence.

which the great artist is supposed to practise. This kind of public exploitation of their artistic personality does indeed mark Dickens and Hitchcock off from other artists, popular or otherwise. But it is of a piece with their whole attitude to their work, in which seriousness is not equated with pomposity. Both desire a large audience and both seem to have felt the need for some sort of personal contact with it, more direct than usually possible for a novelist or film director. That they made a great deal of money seems to be a cause for rejoicing rather than for the distaste shown by Forster. No one can accuse them of working just for the money or maintain that their personal showmanship had a detrimental effect on their work. (True, Ruskin accused Dickens of killing Little Nell 'for the market, as a butcher kills a lamb'.⁵ But one has only to read Dickens's own account of his feelings at the time of writing to be sure that the charge is unjust.)

There is one last point to be made about Dickens and Hitchcock as examples of popular and commercially successful artists, and it is one that leads naturally to an examination of the work itself. Neither of them could be called an intellectual. Hitchcock has this to say about his reading:

'I don't read novels or any fiction. I would say that my reading consists of contemporary biographies and books on travel. I can't read fiction because if I did I would instinctively be asking myself, "Will this make a movie or not?" I'm not interested in literary style, except perhaps when I read Somerset Maugham, whom I admire for the simplicity of his style.'⁶

Perhaps a taste for Somerset Maugham doesn't necessarily disqualify one as an intellectual, but it's certainly true that Hitchcock prefers to discuss his work in terms of technique rather than content. When Truffaut tries to pin him down to an analysis of the aesthetics of documentary with reference to *The Wrong Man*, Hitchcock's reply is, 'It seems to me that you want me to work for the art-houses.'⁷ If he does talk about the ideas of his films it is in very simplistic terms. *Lifeboat*, for example, is for its director a straightforward parable about the need for the democracies to unite against Nazism. And when Truffaut suggests that *Rear Window* is not a pessimistic film, but one which is compassionate about human weakness, Hitchcock's reply is just, 'definitely'. He won't be drawn any further. According to Robin Wood, this is a sign of modesty.⁸ Perhaps it is; but I think one gets a very strong impression that Hitchcock couldn't talk about his films in this way even if he wanted to. Of course, Wood is right to say that this should not affect the audience's appreciation of the work. Yet it does indicate the kind of artist Hitchcock is; he works intuitively, the power of his films coming from some region of his

mind inaccessible to his conscious mind, though capable of being controlled and directed by it.

Dickens, too, has little of interest to say about the themes of his work. One can search his letters for a long time without coming across anything on what he thinks his books are about, over and beyond being an exposure of some particular social evil he has discovered. His friends were actors, lawyers and novelists; but with the exception of Carlyle he didn't know any of the major writers or thinkers of his time very well. Carlyle, in fact, was slightly contemptuous of Dickens's own ideas:

'He thinks men ought to be buttered up, and the world made soft and accommodating for them, and all sorts of fellows have turkey for their Christmas dinner.'⁹

Nor are the characters of Dickens or Hitchcock intellectuals, as they usually are in the films of, say, Bergman. But again there is no reason why they should be.

The significance of a film or a novel does not depend on whether or not its characters are in the habit of discussing 'life'; nor even on their having a high degree of self-awareness. It's only what the audience is aware of that counts.

But Dickens and Hitchcock do have interesting things to say about their work, things which provide a key to their achievement. They are much taken up with the problem of realism. The prefaces Dickens wrote to his novels are often occupied with defending himself against those who questioned his representation of the facts. The preface to *Bleak House*, where Dickens insists that his theory of spontaneous combustion is scientifically true, is an example of the absurd lengths to which he would go. In his more lucid moments, though, he recognizes that he is not a realist in any literal sense:

'It does not seem to me to be enough to say of any description that it is the exact truth. The exact truth must be there; but the merit or art in the narrator, is the manner of stating the truth. As to which thing in literature, it always seems to me that there is a world to be done. And in these times, when the tendency is to be frightfully literal and catalogue-like – to make the thing, in short, a sort of sum in reduction that any miserable creature can do in that way – I have an idea (really founded on the love of what I profess) that the very holding of popular literature through a kind of popular dark age, may depend on such fanciful treatment.'¹⁰

The connection Dickens makes between his kind of art and a popular audience I shall come to in a moment. But first it's interesting to see in Hitchcock an exactly comparable attitude to realism.

He delights in telling us how true-to-life his films are. He is proud of the authenticity of *The Wrong Man*¹¹ and of how when filming *The Birds* there was an attack like the ones in the film.¹² But he rejects absolute fidelity to real life:

'There's quite a difference, you see, between the creation of a film and the making of a documentary. In the documentary the basic material has been created by God, whereas in the fiction film the director is the god; he must create life. And in the process of creation, there are lots of feelings, forms of expression, and viewpoints that have to be juxtaposed. We should have total freedom to do what we like, just so long as it's not dull'.¹³



The Birds: a director's total freedom to 'create life'

Both of them, then, demand freedom from the obligation to be realistic in a literal sense. They wish to get at the truth by other means, and are very much aware that an artist who creates for a wide public must entertain. To these ends they employ a form of art which relies strongly on the plot – in other words, suspense. The interest of the story does not arise solely from the plot, clearly, if by this we mean the solution of the mystery or the resolution of the conflict. Who after all can remember exactly the dénouement of *Little Dorrit*? Hitchcock talks of the MacGuffin, the secret plans or formula which everyone chases after, but which is quite unimportant in itself. Nevertheless, physical action is an essential part of their

work. If Robin Wood's book has a fault, it is that he concentrates too much on Hitchcock's treatment of his characters. I do not say that there is not great subtlety and complexity in this treatment. But is this what we primarily carry away from the film? Or is it something else? In Wood's description Hitchcock begins to sound a little like a cinematic Henry James – not surprisingly, if he is to be ranged alongside the novelists of The Great Tradition. It is notable that Leavis is unable to admit Dickens to a place in the pantheon; and quite rightly, for he is a different kind of novelist. Where Leavis seems mistaken to those of us who rate Dickens more highly than he does is in his assumption that there is only one kind of novel worthy of serious consideration. Leavis compares Dickens with Conrad:

"This co-presence of obvious influence with assimilation suggests that Dickens may have counted for more in Conrad's mature art than seems at first probable: it suggests that Dickens may have encouraged the development in Conrad's art of that energy of vision and registration in which they are akin. ("When people say that Dickens exaggerates," says Santayana, "it seems to me that they can have no eyes and no ears. They probably have only *notions* of what things and people are; they accept them conventionally at their diplomatic value".) We may reasonably, too, in the same way see some Dickensian influence in Conrad's use of melodrama, or what would have been melodrama in Dickens; for in Conrad the end is a total significance of a profoundly serious kind.

"The reason for not including Dickens in the line of great novelists is implicit in this last phrase. The kind of greatness in question has been sufficiently defined. That Dickens was a great genius and is permanently among the classics is certain. But the genius was that of a great entertainer, and he had for the most part no profounder responsibility as a creative artist than this description implies. Praising him magnificently in a very fine critique, Santayana, in concluding, says: "In every English-speaking home, in the four quarters of the globe, parents and children would do well to read Dickens aloud of a winter's evening." This note is right and significant. The adult mind doesn't as a rule find in Dickens a challenge to an unusual and sustained seriousness."¹⁴

There is an opposition here I find totally unacceptable; that between 'entertainment' (which is apparently comparable with genius) and 'seriousness'. In his section on *North By North-West* Robin Wood argues convincingly against just such an opposition:

'A film, whether light entertainment or not, is either a work of art or it is nothing.'¹⁵

Yet Leavis on Dickens sounds very like that kind of criticism of

Hitchcock which Wood's book is designed to refute – that Hitchcock is a 'master' but not a serious artist. And it seems to me that the best way to combat such attacks is to question the assumptions which are being offered, rather than to attempt to fit Hitchcock into the tradition.* A way of doing this is to see them both as creators of melodrama. Leavis asserts that in Conrad Dickensian melodrama, which is bad, becomes transformed into something better.† The assumption is that melodrama is necessarily an inferior form of art. The remainder of my argument rests on the belief that this is not so.

There appear to be three main reasons why melodrama has been considered unworthy of serious consideration: it is dismissed as popular, and therefore crude; and not true-to-life. We may recall that for Dickens the survival of popular art depended on 'fanciful treatment'. To élitist-minded critics (and I don't think Leavis is entirely innocent of élitism) such survival may not appear worth fighting for. For those who take the cinema seriously because (among other things) it is the only great art form which does reach a large audience, there is an absolutely vital obligation to show that melodrama is a form capable of realizing the fullest potential of genius, while being at the same time a form which appeals to everyone. For good or bad, a very large proportion of films past and present are melodramas of one kind or another.

It has flourished usually in periods when an art form has been shared by both upper and lower classes or when the form has been deserted by the rich and the educated. It contributed greatly to the vitality of the Elizabethan theatre. Shakespeare himself was not above it, as in *Richard the Third*, for example. *Hamlet* is marked by strong traces of it. It really came into its own on the nineteenth-century stage, and when the cinema arrived it simply transferred itself lock, stock and barrel to the new medium. I don't claim that *Richard the Third* is a better play than *King Lear* or that the *Ticket-of-Leave Man* is an undisputed classic, or that *Fantomas* is the film of the silent era. But none of these is beneath contempt; and I think that they show that the derogatory sense of the word melodrama is not the only one. When we come to Dickens and Hitchcock we are dealing with work in which the genius of the creator is manifested not in spite of its possibilities but through them.

*If Alan Lovell (*Screen* No. 2) wants to attack Robin Wood (and the desire to attack really does seem more evident than his having a serious alternative to propose), then he would surely do better to question Wood's judgments about what art should be than to argue for an abstention from judgment. (You can't *describe* without judging – not in criticism, anyway.) Thus, it seems to me that Penn fits in perfectly with Wood's criteria, Hitchcock less so, and Hawks scarcely at all.

†According to Leavis, Conrad's most Dickensian novel is *The Secret Agent*, which was filmed by Hitchcock as *Sabotage*; as I haven't seen the film, I'm unable to pursue this fascinating lead.

That melodrama is not true-to-life is undeniable. To begin with, in real life people are not, as they are in melodrama, wholly good or wholly bad. But psychological realism is not the only virtue. What melodrama does is to schematize the opposition of good and evil so that the struggle between them occurs not within one individual, as it might in a realistic novel, but is exteriorized into a battle between different characters. It is thus a highly stylized form. The basic structure is nevertheless bold and simple, and this serves to release and embody forces of great power. Channels into the subconscious are opened. It is intimately related to those other popular and despised forms, the ghost story and the horror film. Hitchcock has given his name to a number of books of ghost stories, and made at least one film which contains as much horror as suspense (*Psycho*). Dickens wrote a lot of ghost stories, though after *Pickwick Papers* he usually kept them out of his novels. The latter, however, do have strongly horrific elements. They are full of characters so weird and deformed they could be classified as monsters – Quilp, Squeers, Uriah Heep, Krook, Orlick. Without going any deeper into the psychology and mythology of all this, it is clear that there is in Dickens and Hitchcock a strong impulse towards the irrational. Their problem as artists is to control it, to shape it, so that the irrationality is contained within a structure that makes sense of it (if that is not a contradiction!) There's a striking resemblance between the two that is relevant here: Hitchcock admits to an obsession with tidiness:

'I'm full of fears and I do my best to avoid difficulties and any kind of complications. I like everything around me to be as clear as crystal and completely calm. I don't want clouds overhead. I get a feeling of peace from a well-organized desk. When I take a bath, I put everything neatly back in place. You wouldn't even know I'd been in the bathroom.'¹⁶

Forster, Dickens's closest friend, said this of him:

'Perhaps there never was a man who changed places so much and habits so little. He was always methodical and regular . . . he would generally preface his morning work (such was his love of order in everything around him) by seeing that all was in its place in the several rooms, visiting also the dogs, stables and kitchen garden.¹⁷ The intricate plotting of Dickens's novels and Hitchcock's films, then, is a way of imposing order on the fears, obsessions and fantasies that creative activity releases. The basic structure of the work is simple, but the detail is fitted together with loving care. Because these fantasies are controlled, they become intelligible and meaningful to a wider audience, not simply the record of a personal inner life. The powerful effect of the initial conception is not crude, because of

the high degree of sophistication, which transforms such elemental stuff into not a Jamesian web spun out of endlessly refined analysis of character, but into melodrama raised to the level of greatness.

I wish to end with some points of comparison between *Great Expectations* and *North by North-West*. Both works are constructed round the story of a man leading a comfortable life who is drawn, at first unwillingly, into a conflict between good and evil. He is forced to risk his life to save someone who, it seems, has merely used him for their own purposes, but whom he comes to love. The essential structure is indisputably melodramatic. The villains are totally evil and their malignancy is scarcely motivated at all. We don't know why James Mason is working for a foreign power or how he feels about it, just as Orlick and Bentley Drummle hate Pip with a malice which exceeds beyond all bounds any reasons they may have for doing so. The job of the artist here is not to make the villains understandable in psychological terms but to make them convincing, through the intensity with which they are portrayed. The means used, of course, vary according to the medium; in the novel the evil of Orlick is communicated by such things as his name (always suggestive in Dickens), his appearance (he is ugly and slouches like an animal), his physical strength, and the uncanny way in which he acts as a kind of extension of Pip's own repressed wish to revenge himself on Mrs Joe (Orlick strikes her with the file Pip had stolen for Magwitch). In *North by North-West* it's a combination of acting (and casting) – James Mason as the 'smiling, damned villain', and his henchmen, one sinister and effeminate, the other dumb and brutal, make up a neatly varied assortment of types – and of choice of camera movements and so on (of the simple but powerful effect of the low-angle shot of Martin Landau crushing Cary Grant's hand as he clings from the cliff-face.)

It's the sheer force with which Dickens and Hitchcock portray evil and danger, and the skill with which they maintain suspense, which ensure their popularity. To dismiss this as crude or unrealistic can only be done by a sensibility so refined as to be ultimately deadening. It's easy, too, to admire the skill and feel the force of their work and yet to damn it with the faint praise of 'clever'. But I believe that you don't feel 'how clever' when you are watching *Psycho*, but 'how terrifying'. The smug, distancing judgment comes afterwards, when you remember what the 'educated' reaction to that sort of thing is.

There is more to the achievement than this, though. For, without diminishing the force of the melodrama, Dickens and Hitchcock use the simple structure to build up other levels of meaning. For example,

the situation is complicated by having a hero who is both reluctant and not wholly admirable. Pip and Roger Thornhill are apparently nice, likeable people. But as Robin Wood has shown, there is something slick and self satisfied about Thornhill.¹⁸ So with Pip; we have been encouraged to identify with him (as one usually does with a first-person narrator). When he becomes a gentleman he turns into a snob who believes he is entitled to his new position while remaining uninvolved in the dubious activities which have got him there. Dickens and Hitchcock both use the audience's natural tendency to identify with the hero (in the film we identify with Roger Thornhill because he is Cary Grant) to question the audience's own smugness, their sense that everything is 'all right'. Eventually the audience is rewarded with a happy ending, as in all melodramas. To those who think this is sentimental, it may be said that where you have a struggle, not so much between individuals as between the forces of good and evil, a happy ending stands for a faith in the power of goodness. To some this may itself be sentimental, but the victory of evil could only represent total despair or easy cynicism. And, of course, happy endings in Dickens and Hitchcock are by no means glib – see, for example, *Little Dorrit* and *The Birds*. Villainy and danger are defeated, but not until the heroes and the audience have examined the true nature of themselves and made a commitment to an active and positive stand against them. The satisfaction has to be earned. It's this that distinguishes good melodrama from bad, where the audience's desires are gratified cheaply.

Another complication is added in the attitude to the law in both works. Hitchcock tells of a traumatic experience in his childhood:

'I must have been about four or five years old. My father sent me to the police station with a note. The superintendent read it and locked me in a cell for five or ten minutes, saying, "This is what we do to naughty boys."'¹⁹ 'As a result', says Hitchcock, 'it must be said to my credit that I never wanted to be a policeman.'²⁰

Dickens also had an early experience of prison; when he was a child his father was arrested for debt. Though Dickens himself didn't actually live in the prison with the rest of the family, a fear and hatred of prisons and the law marked him for the rest of his life. In *Great Expectations* the lawyer Jaggers is a sinister figure who makes Pip feel guilty even though he has not committed any crime; some of the dirt associated with the law has rubbed off on to him:

'I consumed the whole time in thinking how strange it was that I should be encompassed by all this taint of prison and crime; that, in my childhood out on our lonely marshes on a winter evening I should have first encountered it; that, it should have reappeared on two occasions, starting out like a stain that was faded but not gone;

that it should in this new way pervade my fortune and advancement. While my mind was thus engaged, I thought of the beautiful young Estella, proud and refined, coming towards me, and I thought with absolute abhorrence of the contrast between the jail and her.²¹

Both Hitchcock and Dickens use their own personal feelings about the law to prevent the audience from assuming an identity between the forces of law and the forces of good. A conventional melodrama might have taken the form of a simple battle between the police and the villains. In these two works, the heroes, and the audience, are led to make a *personal* commitment. The law is cynical, concerned with its own ends. So the triumph of good must depend on the determination and virtue of the hero. Pip's awakening comes when he finds that the two people he loves are both victims of the law's injustice; and his salvation is the result of his realization that his love for Magwitch is greater than his horror at the convict's past. His own guilt, then, is redeemed by his feeling for one whom the law has marked with guilt.

The situation in *North by North-West* is not, obviously, identical; although in each work the heroine marries (in effect) the villain, Eve and Estella are different characters. One prostitutes herself from patriotic motives, the other because her emotional life has been stifled by her upbringing. Yet even here there is a resemblance. There is an implied critique of a system that can demand such sacrifice; and Eve too has been emotionally crippled: by 'men like you', she tells Cary Grant.

It is also possible to say of the hero of *North by North-West* that though apparently innocent he is drawn into a web of intrigue and crime in which he experiences what it is like to be hunted. And by the end his experiences have changed him; the heartlessness he was guilty of has been replaced by a love for and proper regard of others.

Leaving aside his treatment of guilt and crime, which clearly has overtones beyond a merely particular and individual situation, it might be thought that, unlike Dickens, Hitchcock has little interest in society. His films have usually been interpreted as statements about individual psychology having universal application but no very specific social reference. I don't think this view survives a close examination – in fact, Hitchcock's films reflect the time, the place and the society in which they were made more than most. We have already seen what Robin Wood has said about the economical yet pointed critique of the advertising man. Related to this but operating on a more symbolic level there is a movement in the film away from what he calls 'the apparently aimless and chaotic bustle and movement'²² of New York out into the country. It is in the country that the



The Trouble with Harry: Death intrudes – in a light-hearted way

most terrifying and violent things happen, such as the sequence with the crop-dusting plane. It is as though the characters are attempting to escape to some rural haven, into which they are pursued by evil. Eden is desecrated – not that it ever exists in the film itself. It's already been destroyed when the hero arrives. Such a movement occurs in many of the later films. In *The Trouble with Harry* a kind of

rural paradise does exist for death to intrude into (though of course in a light-hearted way). In *Psycho* Janet Leigh attempts to escape from the city, but her success is rewarded by murder in a lonely spot miles from anywhere. The attacks of the birds in Hitchcock's next film, the killing of Gromek in *Torn Curtain*, conform to this pattern.

There is a similar pattern in Dickens's later novels. In *Great Expectations* London is a place of dirt and fear but it is in the country that Pip has his most frightening experiences, the encounter with Magwitch in the graveyard and his capture by Orlick out on the marshes. In *Our Mutual Friend* Eugene Wrayburn is almost killed by being thrown into a canal while on a trip out of London, and the murder of Edwin Drood takes place in the apparently calm and sleepy backwaters of a cathedral town. The films and the novels are bound up with the experience of the later stages of industrialism in Britain and America. The initial trek into the city becomes a desperate flight away from it.

One shouldn't end a discussion of Dickens and Hitchcock without a word on their humour. Typically, it has an undercurrent of barely suppressed violence and menace. There is anyway a thin dividing line between melodrama and farce, as between tragedy and comedy. Dickens sometimes topples over it, Hitchcock, I think, never (certainly in his mature work). Dickens remarked that *Great Expectations* was founded on 'a grotesque tragi-comic conception',²³ which could apply perfectly to *North by North-West*. The detail of their humour is akin, too. When Thornhill is going down in a lift with the two men who are chasing him, his mother remarks to them, 'You gentlemen aren't *really* trying to kill my son, are you?' and everyone dissolves into laughter. The threat contained in the situation is for the moment, at any rate, released by amusement. When Pip visits Newgate, his fear of prison gives way, at moments, to a comic vision of Wemmick as a gardener and the prisoners as plants which he tends with loving care.²⁴ In each case a frightening situation becomes ridiculous when viewed from another angle. Tension is released, only to tighten up again later – and even in the release of laughter you aren't allowed to forget the danger. Both artists play on their audience in this way, just as they capitalize on its expectations and desires in their use of melodrama. Their popularity comes not only from the use of a popular form, but arises out of their ability to exploit it as a means of expressing their vision of life. It is a vision which draws richly on the fantasies of the subconscious yet which does not indulge them, which takes a bleak view of modern society, though frequently relaxes into black humour. Truffaut says that Hitchcock belongs 'among such artists of anxiety as Kafka, Dostoyevsky and Poe'.²⁵ Dickens should be in that list.

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The Future of the British Film Industry

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The Kinnaird Lecture delivered at the Regent Street Polytechnic in November 1969

STRUCTURE OF THE INDUSTRY

Exhibition

For many years the cinema was the main medium of mass entertainment and remained so until the advent of television. Since then the whole picture has changed radically. Thus, whereas in 1949 there were 4,671 cinemas in Britain, today the number has dropped to below 1,700, and annual admissions have dropped in the same period from 1,430 million to under 250 million. As Robert Clark once observed: 'For too long for its own good, the cinema was the biggest form of mass entertainment.' He meant that exhibitors had been lulled by the public's cinema-going habit into a dangerously complacent mood, and it is only quite recently that those exhibitors who have survived the demise of this cinema-going habit have seen fit to bring their theatres into line with modern standards of comfort and amenity. The fact is that the big picture palace, though it was fairyland between the wars to a public, large sections of which were unaccustomed to first-class housing, has now become something of an anachronism. The producer-director John Lemont in describing a recent visit to one of these huge but sparsely-populated picture houses described the situation to me by saying: 'I could have shot elk in the stalls.'

I do not propose to enter into a lengthy description of the history of exhibition in this country. It is nevertheless a fascinating and complicated story. It is important to know that exhibition in Britain today is dominated by two powerful circuits, ABC and Rank, which, though owning between them only about a third of the country's cinemas, nevertheless tend to dictate the programmes shown in the remainder. Moreover, the cinemas in these two major circuits provide a much larger proportion of the country's total cinema

revenue than the proportion they represent of the country's total number of cinemas. Accordingly, it is almost invariably essential that a feature film should be booked by ABC or Rank if it is to have any reasonable hope of obtaining a good return of revenues from the home market. Today, as I shall show later, the international market has assumed a much bigger significance, but it is still broadly true that a film which fails to get a major circuit booking in this country is doomed to financial failure.

This state of affairs has led to a fairly continuous barrage of complaints which has in turn prompted the Government to appoint various committees over the years to examine the charges of monopoly made against the major circuits. The argument is that the fate of a film should not reside so exclusively in the hands of one man, namely the major circuit booker – for films get shown by tradition throughout only one of the major circuit of cinemas. The latest inquiry was made by The Monopolies Commission and their Report, published in 1966, though finding that a monopoly situation existed, considered that no drastic measures could be taken to break this monopoly without destroying the whole exhibition fabric as it has developed historically. A number of measures was recommended for ameliorating the situation and on the whole a much less rigid pattern of exhibition is now emerging.

One of the demands of the malcontents has been the establishment, through statutory enactment and possibly public finance, of a third powerful circuit. But, when there are not enough first-class films to meet the demands of the existing two circuits, it seems to me that the creation of a third circuit of the same kind would be a retrograde step. The way out is certainly not to rush farther in. What is really required is a powerful system of small, well-appointed cinemas to form a sort of art-house circuit for the rapidly growing number of sophisticated film-lovers; and certain developments, as I shall mention later, are already occurring along these lines.

Before leaving the subject of exhibition it is important to explain that over the past 20 years gross box office takings in Britain have dropped from over £100 million to approximately £60 million, a very considerable reduction when the relative value of money is taken into account. However, in 1949 the cinemas paid £36 million to the Treasury by way of Entertainments Duty but this was substantially reduced in the later 1950s and was removed completely from 1961 onwards.

Distribution

Turning now to distribution I should point out that the distributor

in this country as well as in the United States and elsewhere normally performs two entirely distinct roles: he is both the main provider of production finance and the wholesaler of the finished article. Within the industry it is only the large distributing organizations which are sufficiently well capitalized to undertake the huge expenditures involved in commercial film-making. This means that distributors are all-powerful. They therefore seek all available means of protecting their production investments in their capacity as financing parties, and one of these is to charge high commissions in their capacity as selling agents. This tends to make things difficult for their financing partners and also for producers, directors, writers and artists who may be looking to the film's 'profits' for at least part of their return.

There is much to be said for a substantial rationalization in the field of distribution. Economic forces have already brought this about to a considerable extent. Today very few of the minor distribution companies, of which there were once quite a number, have survived. Among the major distributing groups there is still in my view much room for economies. Today the main British distributors are The Rank Organization, Associated British and its subsidiary Anglo Amalgamated, and British Lion. Added to which there are the UK subsidiaries of the American majors – United Artists, Twentieth Century-Fox, Columbia, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Paramount, Warners.

Already a certain amount of rationalization has been embarked upon – thus British Lion distributes its films in the United Kingdom through Columbia – but a great saving in expense could be achieved if, so far as the United Kingdom was concerned, there was a single administrative unit handling centrally on behalf of all the big distributors, and with the aid of a computer, such matters as barring, logging, dispatch and maintenance of prints, and accounts. (Barring, by the way, is a system designed to limit competition by making it a condition of the contract between distributor and exhibitor that the cinema in question obtains the sole right to show the film over a particular period throughout a particular locality. It is something of a restrictive practice and, though methods have been adopted to prevent abuse, there is a case for the total abolition of all bars. Logging is the art of controlling the movement of prints among cinemas in the most economic manner possible.) To return to rationalization, however, the customary sales commission of 25 per cent or more of the distributors gross receipts from the United Kingdom could be reduced through these methods to half that percentage, even if the individual distributors retained the power, as indeed they probably should, to negotiate sales, notably circuit deals, and to control publicity and advertising.

The interesting thing about the three main British distributing companies is that they have no sales organizations overseas, with the single exception of Rank which had made large strides in this direction but has, regrettably for the British film industry, now pulled back. The American distributors however enjoy the strength of world sales organizations, and this is one of the reasons why they have tended to attract the best product into their orbit. Again, there is much to be said for the main British distributors clubbing together to form a single world sales organization for British films, but there are at present too many obstacles in the way of this idea being studied seriously. Meanwhile each British distributor does the best it can with its overseas selling, and outstanding successes have been achieved in recent years, particularly by British Lion and Anglo Amalgamated.

Before passing from distribution to production, two interesting traditional distributing practices in the United Kingdom should be noticed. One of these is the double feature programme which was generally introduced at the end of the 1920s in order to enable distributors with silent films still on their hands to sell these in harness with the new 'talkies'. The usual programme round about 1930 was a talkie, a silent and either a comedy or a variety turn. Soon the silents disappeared but the public still considered that without two features it was not getting its money's worth.

The other common practice I should mention is that the distributor normally books first-feature films to a cinema on a sliding scale which varies from 25 per cent to 50 per cent of the box-office take according to the success of the particular film as measured by certain pre-determined 'break figures' fixed separately for each cinema. The increase in these break figures from time to time at the instance of the exhibitor has given rise to a good deal of complaint by certain distributors and most producers. For some extraordinary reason, however, the proportion of 50 per cent of the box-office receipts is regarded as sacrosanct and never to be exceeded. Well, hardly ever; I believe that Charlie Chaplin, that redoubtable individualist, once succeeded in breaking the barrier.

Production

The third and perhaps the most important part of the structure of the film industry is the producer himself. Producers on the whole are not well capitalized and we have in this country only a few production groups of solid financial strength such as those associated with the names of John Woolf, Tony Richardson, Carl Foreman and Harry Saltzman. Most producers have few assets apart from their

talent to find and develop the right subject and the best team to make it into a successful film. These are the so-called independent producers, but the phrase is a complete misnomer as they are wholly dependent on others for the provision of the necessary finance. It is indeed odd to reflect that the most successful and wealthy film producers are precisely those who do not find it difficult to obtain all the production finance they require elsewhere without using their own money. But they enjoy the immense advantage of being able to develop various projects in which they have confidence to the stage at which they can be submitted to a distributor for complete financing.

In the realm of production too a great change has come over the scene in the past 20 years. In the early post-war period the big studios employed producers and undertook film production themselves with finance from their associated distribution companies. This was the case in Britain with the two vertically-integrated combines, Rank with its studios at Pinewood and Associated British with its studios at Elstree. Today however the producer is a far more important person. He it is who controls the making of the film, and he hires the studio to the extent that his film is not to be made on location.

The metamorphosis which the British film industry has undergone is a result of the competition of television and other leisure pursuits. It is meant that there is no longer any room for the run-of-the-mill producer. To survive he has to be well above the average of his predecessors. In Britain the community of producers is therefore both varied and international.

Many devices have been employed to make the cinema more attractive – wide screen, 70mm., better projection, improved décor, bars, restaurants, bookable seats, etc., etc. – but the quality and the attraction of the film itself remains the basis of this industry. On the whole we can be well pleased in this country with the wealth of talent which exists. The devices are important, in varying degrees, but entirely subsidiary. It was Jean Cocteau who said when asked his opinion of the wide screen: ‘Next time I write a poem I shall use a large sheet of paper.’

Film producers themselves are often a colourful and fascinating group of people. Sometimes they tend to be extravagant, but modern methods of cost control have done much to curb the wilder excesses. Nobody orders wolves these days, but I was delighted to hear recently of a producer who had said to his production manager: ‘Forget the octopus; I want 120 pipers.’

GOVERNMENT HELP

I now come to the various forms of help which the British Government has given, and continues to give, to the British film industry. The need for these, as with similar aids in important film-producing countries like France and Italy, arises from the dominating position world-wide occupied by the film industry of the United States. The vulnerability of the British film industry, as of the feature film industries now developing in Canada and Australia, is particularly acute having regard to the fact that we speak the same – or almost the same – language as the Americans.

I suppose the basic reason why British Governments of different political hues have given help to the British film industry is the fact that the film is an important form of expression which should not be under the domination of a foreign country, however benevolently disposed. Increasingly the effect of such domination on the United Kingdom's balance of payments has become a factor of equal if not greater importance in the minds of Government ministers and officials.

The help given by the Government to the industry over the years has taken three forms – Quota, Levy, and NFFC.

Quota

The oldest of these is Quota, which was introduced by the Cinematograph Films Act of 1927. Originally there was a renters' or distributors' quota as well as an exhibitors' quota, but since the Cinematograph Films Act of 1948 only the exhibitors' quota remains. This is a statutory requirement, subject to certain exemptions, whereby a proportion of playing time, the proportion to be fixed annually by the Board of Trade after consultation with the Cinematograph Films Council, must be devoted to films which qualify as British – that is to say films made by British subjects or British companies at a studio (if used) within Her Majesty's dominions and where some three-quarters of the labour costs are paid to British subjects or persons domiciled in some part of Her Majesty's dominions. For some time now the British Quota has been 30 per cent for first features and 25 per cent for the supporting programme. Although in recent years the Quota has in practice been exceeded, this remains a useful safeguard and protection.

Levy

It is well known in the industry that Wilfrid Eady, a Treasury official, invented a plan to provide special help for British films at

the expense of imported, mainly American, films. This arrangement took the form of a levy on seat prices in Great Britain which began in 1950 as a voluntary scheme within the industry. Simultaneously there were adjustments to Entertainments Duty rates and a raising of certain seat prices. This scheme, still referred to as the Eady Plan, became compulsory under the Cinematograph Films Act of 1957. The British Film Fund, as it is now called, is today made up of a levy paid at the rate of one-ninth of the amount by which the price of each ticket – subject to certain exemptions – exceeds 1s 6d. The levy on a seat costing 2s 3d is 1d and so forth. Currently the Levy amounts to approximately £4 million a year.

The Levy has been of immense value to British film production and makes a considerable difference to a British film's revenues from the home market, currently adding an amount equivalent to about 40 per cent of the distributors gross receipts from that territory. Subject to the cost of collection and administration and to a special grant to the Children's Film Foundation, the Fund is distributed among the eligible films in proportion to the amount of their distributors gross receipts, or commercial success, in Britain. To be eligible a film must be British within the definition I have previously mentioned and must in addition be a film the maker of which was throughout the time it was being made a person ordinarily resident in, or a company registered in, and the central management and control of whose business was exercised in, the United Kingdom. Specially favourable arrangements apply to low-cost films (i.e. films whose labour costs do not exceed £25,000), short films (i.e. films with a playing time of less than 33½ minutes) and newsreels.

NFFC

Finally, there is the National Film Finance Corporation, otherwise known as the Government Film Bank, the organization I have worked for in various capacities since soon after its formation in 1949. It was in that year that the Cinematograph Film Production (Special Loans) Act became law and NFFC was established, at a time when Harold Wilson, who has always taken a great interest in the film industry, was President of the Board of Trade. NFFC is therefore a statutory corporation, and its Members or Board of Directors are appointed by the Board of Trade from among persons appearing to the Board of Trade qualified as having had experience, and shown capacity, in matters relating to finance, industry, commerce, administration or law. Whilst we are an independent body, we are naturally open to

criticism by the Government for squandering the taxpayer's money, by film enthusiasts for supporting the wrong films, by film producers for being too mean and by other film-makers for backing the wrong producers.

The Act of 1949 placed at our disposal a revolving loan fund, provided by the Treasury, of £5 million, increased in 1950 to £6 million, for a limited period of five years. No less than £3 million out of the fund was advanced before April 1951 to the former British Lion Film Corporation Limited, around which many of the leading independent film producers were then grouped, in order to save that company from collapse and, though the whole amount was in due course lost, the company continued operating with great vigour until the mid-1950s and was responsible for financing and distributing a large number of films, many of which were outstanding successes, both artistically and commercially. When the old British Lion went into liquidation a new British Lion, the present British Lion Films Limited, was formed with further finance provided by NFFC and is now, thanks largely to the shrewd leadership of men like the Boulting Brothers and Launder and Gilliat, a very flourishing concern. Indeed, NFFC's loss of £3 million on the old British Lion has now been reduced through the success of the new British Lion by over £1 million.

The basic purpose of the Government in setting up NFFC in 1949 was that of providing production finance at a time when there was an acute shortage of this vital commodity. The hope was that private finance would be encouraged to return to the industry and thus make NFFC's continued activity unnecessary. In fact this hope has never been wholly realized and NFFC's term of office has been extended by subsequent legislation until the end of 1970. Over the past 20 years NFFC, with a revolving fund of only some £3 million, has helped to finance over 700 long films, 170 shorts, and a number of television films; it has advanced more than £27 million; of the 730 films exhibited as first features on the main cinema circuits in Great Britain during the years 1950-61 (inclusive) it assisted no less than 366, or just over one-half, the annual proportions varying from a maximum of 71 per cent in 1952 to a minimum of 25 per cent in 1961; its net aggregate losses are just over £5 million over a period of more than twenty years; and all this during an era of unprecedented difficulty and crisis, with television supplanting the cinema as the main medium of mass entertainment.

FINANCE FOR PRODUCTION

I should add that in recent years considerable private finance has returned to the British film production industry but from an unexpected quarter, namely the major American distributing companies. This development had its remote origin in the Anglo-American Film Agreement of 1948, as later revised, which provided that only \$17 million of the American companies' film earnings in the United Kingdom could be remitted each year to the USA but that the balance remaining could be invested in British film production. A great impetus was given to this trend by the Eady Plan and, even when the restrictions on the remittance of American film earnings were removed in 1960, the attraction of this large bonus, together with the availability of so much British talent, encouraged the Americans to continue and indeed to increase the scale of their investment in films which qualified as British. For quite a number of years now the amount of US investment in British films can fairly be described as massive.

It has been said with some truth that NFFC helped to keep the British film production industry going until it was ripe for take-over by the Americans. Equally the Americans can be thanked for keeping it going during a period when British film finance was at a very low ebb. Now there are signs of a severe reduction, at least for the time being, in the scale of American investment in British production and simultaneously, by a fortunate coincidence, signs of a revival of British investment.

Film financing is a complicated business. For many years after the establishment of NFFC and until comparatively recent times the method of financing a feature film in Britain was for a distributor to give a guarantee that within, say, eighteen months of delivery of the completed film the producers share of revenues would amount to 70 per cent of the approved budget or actual cost (which ever was the less). This guarantee would be discounted by a bank. The producer would then seek to borrow as much as possible of the remaining 30 per cent from NFFC, but he would probably have to find some finance from his sisters and his cousins and his aunts. The money provided by the bank and guaranteed by the distributor was known as 'front money' because it was recovered first out of revenues and the remaining 30 per cent as 'end money' because it was recovered last. This 30 per cent was the most speculative part of the finance because it was not guaranteed by the distributor and usually depended for its recovery entirely on the commercial results of the film. In addition, the producer had to arrange a completion guarantee from one of the few companies providing this special type of

insurance, i.e. an undertaking in exchange for a fee (which was usually 5 per cent of the budget figure) to ensure completion and delivery of the film in accordance with the approved screenplay and to provide such monies in excess of the budget as were necessary for this purpose. The producer therefore had a veritable financial jigsaw to manipulate before he could get on with the creative task of making the film.

It was hardly surprising that most of the best producers and directors gravitated to the US companies when the latter began to offer 100 per cent finance from a single source; no problems about completion guarantees; no appeal to one's wealthy relatives, no search for someone else's. Apart from the attractions of Eady Money and of the technical and artistic talent in this country, production costs were much lower here than in the States. This differential has however been greatly reduced by the increase in British film production costs directly resulting from the astronomical fees which the US companies have been prepared to pay for top talent. Seeing these jewelled hands dipping so deeply into the kitty, all other film employees have not unnaturally sought to obtain a share for themselves, and the overall effect, coupled with the general rise in prices, has much inflated the cost of production over recent years. This factor has discouraged British sources of finance from competing.

But one tremendous advantage has come about as a result of the financing of British films by the US majors which, it is estimated, have been providing 75 per cent rising to 90 per cent of the total volume of finance required for the first feature and co-feature films registered as British during the past five years. This advantage is that British films, British writers, British directors, British artists are now widely-known throughout the world and particularly throughout North America, the largest English-speaking market in the world. Previously, only the very best British films got shown in the USA and then usually on a restricted art-house basis only. Furthermore, I have heard few complaints from film-makers about interference from the US financing parties with the way in which they have made their films, many of which have been thoroughly British in character and content.

Some British distributors, notably British Lion and Anglo Amalgamated, frequently with help from NFFC, have not been slow to take advantage of the new popularity of British films in the States, and several films have been made exclusively with British money and subsequently sold, and sold very profitably, to a US group for distribution in the Western Hemisphere.

Moreover, many of the outstanding British film-makers still prefer

to make their films with British money, if it can be found. The US companies, in general, take very large commissions – 30 per cent or 35 per cent of the distributors gross in the USA and the UK and frequently 40 per cent in the rest of the world, plus substantial expenses in respect of prints, publicity and all sorts of miscellaneous extras, and this means that the distributor-financier is probably making a profit long before the film technically reaches the point of being ‘in profit’. Consequently, the top talent seek the maximum cash fees from the budget finance and place little reliance on ultimate profits. This again tends to inflate production costs.

With the British distributors however, profits are much more real and, with the present revival of British financing, there is a new hope that producers, directors, writers and stars will be prepared – as NFFC has constantly urged – to take a more modest cash fee and look to a share of profits as their reward for the film’s success.

FUTURE TRENDS

I would now like to pin-point the main factors which are likely to affect the future.

The International Market

I have already emphasized that British films, largely as a result of their exposure throughout the world by the US companies, now have real access to an international market. Tremendous opportunities exist for British films abroad, especially in the USA, and these opportunities will be enhanced for the British film producer by the expected reduction in US-financed films the world over, including those made in the USA itself. The cut-back in US film finance is due to the fact that vast sums have been invested by the US majors in films made in the USA, the UK, and Europe and in many cases substantial recoveries are sought before further investments are contemplated. The position has been made more uncertain by the take-over of certain of the US major film companies by huge industrial concerns, referred to ponderously in the press as ‘the conglomerates’. The story goes of the managing director who said to his secretary one morning: ‘Oh, Miss Jones, if the Chairman should ring up, please find out who he is.’ Changes in ownership and proxy battles do not always make for the smooth planning and execution of a film production programme.

Here in London, British Lion Films Limited, now a public company, is expanding its financing programme in order to meet this challenge, and Joe Orton’s *Loot*, *Every Home Should Have One* starring Marty

Feldman, and the Laurence Olivier production of *Three Sisters* are currently in production. Anglo Amalgamated are financing Tony Garnett's unusual new film *The Body*, the film of *Spring and Port Wine* directed by Peter Hammond, and *Entertaining Mr. Sloane*. And I am glad to say that NFFC, despite its very limited remaining resources, is involved in the financing of all these films, not with 'end-money' investments, as in the old days, but on the basis of recovery out of net revenues rateably in proportion to investment.

At the same time the new EMI-Associated British group is promoting an ambitious programme of some fifteen pictures on a 100 per cent financing basis and great hopes are pinned on Berhard Delfont and Bryan Forbes as the central figures in this exciting new development. A comedy entitled *Forbush and the Penguins* with a fairly high budget is about to start production with the cost being provided in equal shares by Associated British, British Lion, and NFFC – a new precedent in joint financing methods which is a hopeful augury for the future.

Finally, City finance is showing signs of real interest in film production and merchant bankers and others are becoming increasingly helpful to British film-makers.

All these developments may be traced to the growing importance of the international market. Films which really catch the public's imagination can still prosper even in the United Kingdom despite the vast reduction in cinemas and admissions, and those that do well here usually do well abroad too.

Whilst it is expected, and greatly to be hoped, that some American finance will still be available for the production of British films, and that the current pause is temporary only, the various signs of a revival in British film finance are of immense importance to the growth of a sound British film industry, no longer almost wholly dependent on foreign finance, and to the exporting of the British ethos. Also, from the economic standpoint, the beneficial effect on the United Kingdom's balance of payments of this growing international business needs no emphasis.

New Exhibition Patterns

It was Albert Finney who recently described the old-fashioned cinema in the following terms: 'To me the word Odeon means a place with a thousand seats, and dusty cupids, with a space where the organ used to come up; ten minutes of those dreadful commercials and an interval for ice cream before the main film starts.' This sort of thing is now becoming less common. Generally, in the United

Kingdom, as I have mentioned before, a less rigid pattern of exhibition is now emerging. The huge picture palaces suited to a former era are in many cases being reduced in size or converted into twin cinemas. These, and many others, are being given a modern image by the installation of comfortable seats, the improvement of décor and heating, and the addition of subsidiary amenities.

The rigid pattern of booking a film for the whole circuit is giving way to more flexible arrangements for films with a special rather than a universal appeal. The old stereotyped second feature is almost a thing of the past and a much greater flexibility is being applied to the supporting programme. Shorts still have poor commercial outlets but even here there are some signs of improvement.

All sorts of specialized cinemas are emerging such as the regional film theatres of the British Film Institute and the mini-cinema movement. Thus exhibition is at last adapting itself to the modern demands of a public which has become more sophisticated and selective. What film trade circles describe as 'areas where the predominating taste is for undemanding happy-ever-after admass fodder' are becoming much less common.

Television

Television, though regarded for too long by the British film industry with a suspicious and hostile eye, is now recognized as an important new outlet for cinema films. North American television, in particular, represents a voracious and remunerative market, and even at home better prices are now being paid for cinema films which can be shown on television here when they are five years old.

Cassettes

There is finally the vast new market which may well become a reality during the next few years through the invention of cassettes which will enable us to plug in the films of our choice to our television sets.

Co-production

The Films Act of 1960 made provision for international co-productions and laid down that any films made in accordance with the terms of any agreement between Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and any other government or any international organization or authority might through Order in Council be treated as British films and eligible for Quota and Levy. Two international agreements have since been concluded, the first with

France in 1965 and the second with Italy in 1967. Very few co-produced films have been made pursuant to these agreements and this I think is largely due to the difficulty of finding subjects which are suitable for such a co-operative effort. NFFC helped to finance a Franco-British film and though this starred Brigitte Bardot herself, the film was not a success, not even in France. These co-production arrangements are however only in their infancy and I very much hope they will get going in due course.

Meanwhile negotiations have started for similar agreements with Canada and the USSR.

International arrangements of this kind and membership of the European Economic Community can stimulate British film production in a most rewarding way, both economically and in terms of that increase in international understanding which is perhaps the film's most important function.

The Films Themselves

In the end however it is the films themselves which will govern the future of the British film industry. Here our strength lies in the great reservoir of talent available: writers, producers, directors, technicians, composers, musicians, actors and actresses. There are so many good ones that it would be invidious to particularize. But I believe that the industry which made *Room at the Top*, *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, *Tom Jones*, *The L Shaped Room*, *The Family Way* and *If . . .* as well as *Goldfinger*, *Oliver* and *Oh What a Lovely War!* can face the future with some confidence. No one has a magic formula for commercial success – except perhaps the makers of the *Carry On* films. As Arnold Picker of United Artists has said: ‘You can never work out how much money you will make with a film. All you can know with certainty is the answer to the question – how much may I lose if I make it?’

Perhaps the multi-million spectulars are a bit rich for British financial resources and, whilst this kind of film can make a fortune, it can also lose it. Films do not have to be in this price range to command international success. *If . . .* cost £230,000 and *Easy Rider* \$400,000. We should aim to make films of quality and significance which we are proud to export as examples of British creative skills.

John Terry is the Managing Director of the National Film Finance Corporation.

THE CRAFT OF FILM

General Editor: J. David Fisher

Published by Attic Publishing Ltd.

April 1970. Price £6

The Golden Age of Film suffered death by television, but from it has come a new age. Film is now a universal medium; an everyday tool in education and training, in industry and advertising, in government and research, and at all levels from underground to overground. The Craft of Film was written to meet this growing need for basic technical information. It covers all aspects of film-making from 8 to 70 mm, from the fundamental properties of light and sound to clearly detailed accounts of equipment, operating procedures and administration, in all departments from production office to presentation theatre. Originally published in 1969 as a series of 22 booklets, the Craft of Film won praise from film-makers of every kind. Since then, the original edition has been greatly extended and revised to form this new edition in a single comprehensive volume.

The Craft of Film presents a breakthrough in educational literature—the principles that bring order to specialized technical manuals have now been applied to the treatment of a general subject. Almost 250 closely illustrated large-format pages (A4 size: $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$) are contained in a practical and attractive white loose-leaf binder, together with tab cards, index and space for notes; every detail has been carefully designed to create an integrated graphic style that is both simple and sophisticated. Loose-leaf format is the key to the manual's value. Each page, or group of pages, is designed as a self-contained 'packet' of information, which can be removed or replaced at will. Logical order is created by a newly-devised indexing system, which has been evolved as an extension of existing library classifications. Every page has its rightful place in subject order, and can easily be found, yet it is always possible to insert new material without upsetting the numbering. The Craft of Film is not a static encyclopedia—it is a practical design with a dynamic future.

The information contained in the Craft of Film covers the ground from first principles to industry practice. Its usefulness can be found at every level. For the professional in film or television, it provides a reference book of technique and practice—which in some cases includes traditional procedures that have never before been formally laid down. For the film student it provides a complete textbook on the technical aspects of his course. For the amateur it provides a handbook of the methods and organization applicable to his chosen medium. For the teacher, in school, college or industry, it provides a guide to the practical possibilities that film may have to offer in his work. For the advertising man, the administrator, or for anyone who comes in contact with film-makers in their work, it provides an index to the mysteries of a powerful medium. But for everyone in any walk of life, the quality of presentation and design, and the simple clarity of explanations and illustrations should provide both interest and enjoyment.

Perhaps the greatest feature of the Craft of Film is its ability to grow. In the rapidly advancing technological world of film, new equipment and methods are constantly being introduced, and existing ones become obsolete. Anyone who buys the Craft of Film will be able to subscribe to a service which will keep his manual up-to-date with a continuing supply of additional or replacement pages. These will be sent out in packages of up to a dozen or so pages at two-monthly intervals, starting in August 1970. The cost will be £2 per year; further details and an order form will be found included in each copy of The Craft of Film manual.

Additional details and order form available from:

ATTIC PUBLISHING LTD.,

Box B.D.1

46 Fitzroy Square,

London W.1.

Telephone: 01-727 8185

BOOK REVIEWS

MOVIES AND HOW THEY ARE MADE. 1968 \$3.75.

WHEN PICTURES BEGAN TO MOVE. 1969 \$3.95.

WHEN MOVIES BEGAN TO SPEAK. 1969 \$3.95.
Frank Manchel. *Prentice-Hall*.

These three American volumes, written primarily for children of lower secondary age range, deal adequately, although in no great depth, with the subject matter of their titles. *Movies and how they are made* is a behind-the-scenes look at American film production and the greater part of the book follows the development of an imaginary film from the first idea for a plot through to its première in a Hollywood theatre. The young reader may well be disillusioned by the book for the emphasis, accurately enough for most run-of-the-mill productions, is less on the creative aspects of production than on movie making as a commercial enterprise.

The other two volumes adopt an historical approach and *When pictures began to move* gives a fair summary of the early history of the cinema. Quite rightly, the author stresses that the cinema was the invention of no single person. Understandably, most attention is given to American innovators in the field but it is a little disconcerting to find that our own Friese-Greene does not even warrant a mention. However, due credit is given to Marey, Muybridge, the Lumière brothers, Méliès, Porter and the rest and the contributions of the giants of the silent era such as Griffith and Eisenstein are adequately dealt with.

The historical approach in *When movies began to speak* is much less successful and, in the event, the book develops into a potted history of some of the sound films made between 1927 and the early 1950s for not many later films are mentioned. Unfortunately, the majority of the films dealt with will be unknown and inaccessible to most young readers. Furthermore, in an endeavour to mention all those films which he considers landmarks in the history of the sound film the author manages to say little that is useful about any of them. To take a single illustration, if we turn to the section dealing with the British Ealing films we find that in *Kind Hearts and Coronets* and *The*

Man in the White Suit, the film style emphasized cleverness and satire', that *The Third Man* 'employs some of the best techniques of sound-mixing up to that date' and that in *Brief Encounter* and *The Sound Barrier* 'Lean demonstrated a unique ability to orchestrate the various components of film art'. The best-known American directors get surprisingly scanty treatment and the influence of television on American film production in the fifties is not mentioned at all. In addition to its other faults, *When movies began to speak* contains several errors of fact. Joseph Losey is included among the English directors, Ealing Studios appears as Earling Studios, Pasolini as Pascolini and the note on *Kind Hearts and Coronets* implies that Alex Guinness played Dennis Price's role of Louis Mazzini in addition to his portrayal of the various members of the d'Ascoyne family.

The books would find a place as background readers in school libraries which have a cinema shelf.

R. C. VANNDEY

DISCOVERY IN FILM

Robert Heyer S. J. & Anthony Meyer S. J., *Paulist Press* (N.Y.) 1969, available in U.K. from *Paulist Newman Press*, 37s. 6d.

Discovery in Film is an American Jesuit publication, one of a series (*Discovery in Song*, *Discovery in Word*, etc.) aimed particularly at secondary school teachers of Theology and English. The book discusses seventy-eight short films, grouped around the themes of Communication, Freedom, Love, Peace, Happiness, and provides for each title comments on the film's content and style, discussion questions, resource materials to broaden discussion and factual data on hire and rental (for North America only, but most of the films are available in Great Britain). The recommendations include animated films, fiction shorts and documentaries as well as some Underground films. The range of resource material is, if anything, wider, including as it does, despite some emphasis on religious publications, extracts from *Peanuts* and the *Ladies Home Journal* as well as from Teilhard de Chardin and The Confessions of St. Augustine. On this level the book will serve as a reasonably useful resource handbook and guide for teachers doing thematic work with different media. *Discovery in Film* also raises again basic problems about the role of film in what we have come to call the 'middle area' of work using film (exemplified perhaps in the considerable weight given in the book to Canadian films like *Phoebe, No Reason to Stay*, which inhabit the curious middle ground between discussion-starters and art films). The book goes some way to resolving the recurring problem in much thematic work of concentration on documentary and/or naturalistic fiction film by grouping titles around themes which are

Man in the White Suit, the film style emphasized cleverness and satire', that *The Third Man* 'employs some of the best techniques of sound-mixing up to that date' and that in *Brief Encounter* and *The Sound Barrier* 'Lean demonstrated a unique ability to orchestrate the various components of film art'. The best-known American directors get surprisingly scanty treatment and the influence of television on American film production in the fifties is not mentioned at all. In addition to its other faults, *When movies began to speak* contains several errors of fact. Joseph Losey is included among the English directors, Ealing Studios appears as Earling Studios, Pasolini as Pascolini and the note on *Kind Hearts and Coronets* implies that Alex Guinness played Dennis Price's role of Louis Mazzini in addition to his portrayal of the various members of the d'Ascoyne family.

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philosophically rather than socially orientated and general enough to invite a flexible and wide-ranging choice of material (including, for example, *Lines Vertical* and *The Critic*). Interesting in this context, and typical of Jesuit pioneering spirit, is the attempt to confront the Underground, an area in which film teachers surely need help. However, although titles are recommended in thematic contexts, the Underground is considered very much as a phenomenon in itself and the choice of films, in terms of subject matter, seems highly selective. Moreover, films by Dell, Brakhage, Emshwiller, Warhold and Vanderbeek are considered in much the same terms as 'overground' films. With Brakhage's *Window Water Baby Moving*, for example, the authors pose questions about style and meaning and conclude: 'What do the following words mean to you after seeing this film: sex, abortion, love, a good lay, mother, playboy?'.

The authors hope the book will stimulate film study as well as film-use in other subjects, but they offer little theoretical basis on which film study could develop and their lack of consistent method could confuse a teacher with little experience of film. The authors attach importance to aesthetic experience but while a film like *Two Men and a Wardrobe* is followed by questions about style and structure, another will be followed by directly personal moral questions. It is, in fact, by no means clear what kind of film teaching the authors think is possible on the basis of the recommended films, especially when their appendix on 'Teaching the Film' takes a very conventional 'film grammar' approach with a very heavy emphasis on editing ('Editing is the secret of any good film').

JIM HILLIER

CINEMA REFERENCE BOOKS: Part Two

Reading list compiled by
Gillian Hartnoll, Librarian,
British Film Institute

The following are the main reference books which are currently available. Of course, there are many more in foreign languages and these are held by the Book Library and may be consulted there by BFI members, who are also welcome to make any enquiries about such material. Finally, it is worth mentioning perhaps that many books not specifically designed for that purpose have a reference function. For example, both the *Movie Paperbacks* and the *Cinema One* books contain detailed filmographies.

BLUM, DANIEL

Screen World, 1950- . Various publishers, but currently Frederick Muller.

Since 1966 the editor has been John Willis and the whole set has been reissued recently in America. *Screen World* is far more useful than its British equivalent *Film Review* because of the detail of its credits, which have become increasingly full and appear to be accurate. In the coverage of the year's releases, featured films are given full technical credits, detailed cast lists and (usually) a spread of stills. Minor films get technical credits but only a list of actors. All these names are listed in the index of names and titles, which greatly increases the book's usefulness. There is also an informative obituary section.

DIMMIT, RICHARD BERTRAND

A title guide to the talkies: a comprehensive listing of 16,000 feature-length films from October 1927 until December 1963. The Scarecrow Press, 1965. 2 vols.

Useful for establishing the origins of film stories. Each entry gives

production company, date and script details and there is an abbreviated index of authors. Its advantage over the *Library of Congress Catalogue* is the inclusion of publication details for literary originals, and also a higher proportion of foreign films. It is also more comprehensive and accurate than *Filmed books and plays* by A. G. S. Enser, although that does give English not American publishers..

The same firm and editor are also responsible for the two-volume *An actor guide to the talkies: a comprehensive listing of 8,000 feature-length films from January 1949 until December 1964.* (Published 1967.) The first volume is an alphabetical listing of the films, giving the actors who are indexed in the second volume. As the index entry only gives a page reference, and there may be up to six films on a page, it is not easy to use. The layout of the entries is also unhelpful and little attempt seems to have been made to establish the characters played by the actors, if this was not readily available. Altogether a rather sloppy piece of work, but not without usefulness.

FILM DAILY

Year book of motion pictures. 52nd ed. New York, Film and Television Daily, 1970.

1074 pp.

Issued as part of the magazine subscription, and therefore expensive to buy separately, *Film Daily Year Book* is the most useful of all the trade directories for general reference purposes. It contains a running item which lists all features released in the States since 1915 (over 33,000 titles in the current issue) giving distributor and date of review in the *Film Daily*. There are also sections giving credits for the previous two years for editors, cameramen, directors, etc., an extensive bibliography, detailed credits for the previous year's release, as well as the usual trade directory information.

The film index: a bibliography. vol. I, The film as art. New York, Museum of Modern Art; H. W. Wilson, 1941. Reprint edition Arno Press.

Unhappily this was the only volume ever produced. Perhaps best described as a printed record combining the Museum of Modern Art's equivalents of the BFI Book Library subject catalogue (including detailed analytical entries) with the Information Department's personality, subject and film indexes of periodical articles, to which has been added an index of authors, book and film titles and personalities. In addition, all the entries are annotated, sometimes in considerable detail.

GRAHAM, PETER

A dictionary of the cinema, 2nd ed. Zwemmer, 1968.

175 pp. plates. index. (*International Film Guide* series.)

Director entries predominate, but actors are also quite well represented among the remaining biographical entries, and there are a few subject entries under headings such as avant-garde. Inevitably its size limits its usefulness, but a film-title index gets the maximum use out of the entries which are included.

The same publisher is also responsible for a number of other dictionaries devoted to particular aspects of the cinema. In *The International Film Guide* series, these include *The Western* and *British cinema* and there are volumes on the cinemas of *Sweden* and *Eastern Europe* in the *Screen* series, with projected dictionaries on *France*, *Germany*, *Japan*, *The American musical* and *The gangster film*.

HALLIWELL, LESLIE

The filmgoer's companion, 3rd ed. Macgibbon & Kee, 1970.

1072 pp.

This is almost certainly the most useful general single-volume reference book on the cinema. The new revised and enlarged edition contains the usual biographical entries with very brief biographies and dated lists of films which vary in completeness; there are also entries for films, for technical terms and an increased emphasis on subject entries (some 200 ranging from *abortion* to *zombies*) with over 50 entries for fictional screen characters (from Ali Baba to Torchy Blane). The main emphasis is on British and American cinema and after three editions the standards of accuracy are high.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Catalogue of copyright entries: motion pictures, 1912-1939. Washington, Library of Congress, 1951.

1253 p.

Entries give copyright date and owner, production company, sound, colour, running time or number of reels, director, scriptwriters, editor, and, where appropriate, author and title of original story and composer. There are further volumes for 1894-1912, 1940-1949, and 1950-1959 with six-monthly supplements. In these the directing, script-writing and editing credits are omitted. There are indexes of series, authors and organizations.

MICHAEL, PAUL, editor

The American movies reference book: the sound era. Prentice-Hall, 1969. 629 pp. illus. bibliog. index.

A rather frustrating book, since by being selective it tends to cover people and films already well documented elsewhere. However, it is useful to have the information brought together and it appears to be accurate. The film section suffers particularly since it only includes

award-winning and top box-office films, and the technical and cast credits tend to vary in the detail provided. The biographical entries give births, deaths and marriages (only births for directors and producers, who are anyway very much in the minority) and complete listings of films with production companies and dates.

RIGDON, WALTER

The biographical encyclopaedia and who's who of the American theatre. New York, James H. Heinemann, 1966.

1101 p.

An excellent and thoroughly researched reference book. Its main interest (in the present context) lies in the 700 pages of biographies of actors, directors, etc., who have worked in the American theatre (a definition which includes non-Americans). The entries give brief biographies, theatre, film, radio and television credits and bibliographies where appropriate. There is also a bibliography of biographies, which is useful.

SPEED, MAURICE

Film Review, 1944-1965/66. Macdonald.

Film Review, 1966/68- . W. H. Allen.

Each issue contains a filmography of the year's releases giving brief plot description, actors, director, producer, distributor and release date, and a pictorial survey. More recent volumes have included various general articles and extended the film credits to include script-writers, running times and censor's certificates.

16-mm. DISTRIBUTORS A SELECTIVE LIST

This list does not attempt to be definitive. It is an introductory guide to the major distributors of 16-mm. feature and documentary films.

The Education Department of the BFI and SEFT have various lists available free to teachers of interesting features and shorts and can always advise about the use of particular films. Members of the Central Booking Agency (British Film Institute, 81 Dean Street, London, W1V 6AA) planning substantial film programmes can use the booking services of the Agency (which is also a distributor of a number of films unavailable elsewhere). The Agency publishes an annual document *Films on Offer* listing most of the important features (listed alphabetically under countries) and short films currently available.

For advice on film teaching matters please write to the Teacher Adviser, Education Department, British Film Institute, 81 Dean Street, London W1V 6AA and for members of SEFT to the Secretary of SEFT at the same address.

DISTRIBUTORS OF FEATURE FILMS

It has not been possible to indicate in any detail the nature of the contents of most of the 16-mm libraries. The brief notes below attempt to give a very general impression of the kinds of films offered by each library. All the major companies deserve further investigation either through their own catalogues or through the Central Booking Agency's *Films on Offer*.

Costs

As a rough guide colour films may be hired for one screening for about £6 - £15 plus postage and black and white films for about £3 - £10 plus postage. Extracts from feature films usually cost between 10s. and £1 10s.

Many of the 16-mm. feature libraries operate block booking systems under which a considerable saving is made when a number of feature films are booked from the same distributors. Enquire to the individual distributors concerned.

Amanda Films Ltd.

303 Finchley Road, London, N.W.3 (01-435 6001).

Catalogue: free.

Small but interesting selection of continental features.

Avon Film Distributors

Everyman Theatre, Hampstead, London, N.W.3 (01-435 4071/1525).

Catalogue: free.

Renoir's *les bas fonds* and *une partie de Campagne* plus some Richard Massingham shorts.

British Film Institute

42/43 Lower Marsh, London, S.E.1 (01-928 4742).

Catalogue: 10s. (Extracts): 5s.

Various important silent classics (Eisenstein, Pudovkin, Lang, etc.) plus an assortment of sound features. Main source of feature extract material.

Columbia Pictures Corporation

142 Wardour Street, London, W.1 (01-437 4321).

Catalogue: 2s. 6d.

Large and interesting selection of mainly post-1940 US and English Columbia films.

Connoisseur Films Ltd.

167 Oxford Street, London, W.1 (01-734 6555).

Catalogue: 5s.

Large and interesting selection of mainly French and Italian 'art house' features, e.g. Godard and Antonioni, plus a selection of Japanese features. A separate supplement of Academy Cinema releases is available.

Contemporary Films Ltd.

55 Greek Street, London, W.1 (01-437 9392/4).

Catalogue: 7s. 6d.

Numerous continental features (Truffaut, Bresson, Visconti, etc.) plus a large selection of Eastern European material. Small extract section.

Eagle Films Ltd.

16-mm. Division, Kingston Road, Merton Park, S.W.19 (01-542 7201).

Catalogue: free.

Small selection of features including Pasolini's *Theorem* and *Oedipus Rex* and three filmed operas.

Educational and Television Films Ltd.

2 Doughty Street, London, W.C.1 (01-405 0395).

Selection of films from the USSR, Czechoslovakia and other Communist countries, including some extremely interesting titles.

E.V.A. Film Distributors Ltd.

91 Dagnall Park, London, S.E.25 (01-653 2939).

Catalogue: free.

A selection of lesser-known entertainment features from various countries.

Embassy Films (Leicester Square) Ltd.

1-2 Berners Street, London, W.1 (01-580 5991/7).

Catalogue: 1s.

Selection of American and continental entertainment features, plus some interesting early comedies (Sennett, Chaplin, Laurel and Hardy).

Film Distributors Associated (16-mm.) Ltd.

37/41 Mortimer Street, London, W.1 (01-636 7141).

Catalogue: free.

Large and interesting selection of United Artists and recent 20th Century Fox entertainment features plus a few recent continental features.

Gala Film Distributors

c/o BFI, 42/43 Lower Marsh, London, S.E.1 (01-928 4742).

Information available.

Contemporary continental material including some Godard and Truffaut, and a substantial amount of Bergman.

Hunter Films Ltd.

182 Wardour Street, London, W.1 (01-734 8527/8 and 3978/9).

Catalogue: 5s.

Large and interesting selection of Japanese and continental material (e.g. Buñuel) plus some interesting American features and Orson Welles's Shakespearian films.

Intercontinental Films

90 Merthyr Mawr Road, Bridgend, Glamorgan.

Catalogue available.

A mixed selection of features, mainly American.

John King Films Ltd.

Film House, East Street, Brighton (0273 25918/9).

Catalogue: 2s. 6d.

Mixed selection of English and American features. A number of odd extracts and sections of American films.

Robert Kingston (Films) Ltd.

16 Bridge Avenue, Hanwell, W.7 (01-578 5977).

Catalogue: 3s. 6d.

Large and interesting selection of mostly American and English features. The library controls all the product of R.K.O., which includes important films by Welles and Ford. Large selection of Laurel and Hardy and Chaplin shorts. Generally low hire rates.

MCA Films Ltd.

Kingston Road, Merton Park, S.W.19 (01-542 7201).

Catalogue: 5s.

Large and interesting selection of mostly American films ranging from the 1930's to the 1960's.

NB: MCA operate two booking seasons. Films either booked or shown in the summer season (April 1st–September 30th) cost 20 per cent less than films booked or shown in the winter season.

Rank Film Library

P.O. Box 70, Great West Road, Brentford, Middlesex (01-568 9222).

Catalogue: 5s.

Large and interesting selection of American and English features. A special section of children's films including those of the Children's Film Foundation. Small extract section.

Ron Harris Cinema Services

Glenbuck House, Surbiton, Surrey (Elmbridge 0022).

Catalogue: 3s. 6d.

Large and interesting selection of American and some English features.

Sound Services Ltd. -

Kingston Road, Merton Park, S.W.19 (01-542 4291).

Catalogue: free.

Small selection of American films produced by Selznick including four Hitchcocks.

Vaughan-Rogosin Films Ltd.

12 Fouberts Place, London, W.1 (01-437 9433/1551).

Catalogue available.

Features and shorts from independent and underground film makers like Shirley Clarke, Lionel Rogosin, Kenneth Anger, Ed Emshwiller. Generally high hire charges.

Wallace Heaton Film Library

127 New Bond Street, London, W.1 (01-629 7511).

3 Catalogues (free): 16-mm.

Super 8-mm.

Standard 8-mm.

A mixed selection of American and English features plus a wide selection of Laurel and Hardy, Chaplin, Abbott and Costello. The catalogues of Super 8-mm. and Standard 8-mm. films include sound and silent features and shorts.

Warner-Pathé Distributors Ltd.

135 Wardour Street, London, W.1 (01-437 5600).

Catalogue: 3s. 6d.

Large and interesting selection of English and American films including a number of Ford films.

Watsofilms Ltd.

Film House, Charles Street, Coventry, Warwicks (Coventry 20427).

Catalogue available.

A very wide selection of mostly lesser-known films from all kinds of sources.

SHORTS, DOCUMENTARIES, ETC.

Most of the companies mentioned in the list of feature distributors carry a selection of general interest shorts and cartoons. Those distributors appearing in both lists (BFI, ETV, Rank, Sound Services) are those with a very wide range of specially interesting material.

Film User and *Visual Education* (both 3s. monthly) are valuable sources of information about current films, concentrating on sponsored films, teaching films and audio-visual aids in general. The BFI Education Department is not primarily concerned with audio-visual aids for subject teaching. Advice about this area may be obtained from the National Committee for Audio-Visual Aids in Education, 33 Queen Anne Street, London, W.1.

BBC Television Enterprises Film Hire

25 The Burroughs, London, N.W.4 (01-202 5342).

Catalogue: free.

Films of BBC programmes on art, current affairs, travel, teacher-training, history, etc. (Hire).

British Film Institute

42/43 Lower Marsh, London, S.E.1 (01-928 4742).

Catalogue (main) 10s.

Catalogue (science) 5s. 6d.

Historical material plus films on the arts, television films and special sections of amateur films, films on education, transport, war, history.

British Transport Films

Melbury House, Melbury Terrace, London, N.W.1 (01-AMB 3232 Ex. 6608/9).

Catalogue: 3s. 6d.

Transport and general films. (Handling charges.)

Canada Information Films

MacDonald House, Grosvenor Square, London, W.1 (01-629 9492).

Free literature.

National Film Board films on various aspects of Canadian life. (Most National Film Board films are distributed by other distributors like the BFI, Concord, and the Central Film Library.)

Central Film Library

Government Buildings, Bromyard Avenue, London, W.3 (01-743 5555).

Catalogue: (Main) 6s.

Catalogue: (Industrial) 4s. 6d.

Comprehensive library covering nearly all subjects. Main collections include films of UK government, Commonwealth countries, United Nations, etc. Also many (free loan) films from industrial sponsors.

Concord Films Council

Nacton, Ipswich, Suffolk (Ipswich 76012).

Catalogue: 2s. 6d.

Films covering a wide variety of topics in Social Studies, e.g. disarmament, refugees, malnutrition, world population problems, education, etc. (Hire and free loan).

Curzon Publicity Ltd.

31 St. James Place, London, W.1 (01-493 2823).

Catalogue: free.

West Germany. Travel, industry, arts, politics, etc. (Free loan).

Danish (Royal) Embassy

Press and Cultural Dept., 29 Pont Street, London, S.W.1 (01-584 0102).

Free literature.

Documentaries on various aspects of Danish life including arts, social services, architecture. Embassy films are on free loan from Golden Films.

Educational Foundation for Visual Aids

see National Audio-Visual Aids Library

Educational and Television Films Ltd.

2 Doughty Street, London, W.C.1 (01-240 1921/2).

Catalogue: 4s.

Many subjects including industry, science, culture, sport, mainly from USSR, North Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Cuba. (Hire.)

Films of Poland

16 Devonshire Street, London, W.1 (01-636 6034)

Most aspects of Polish life e.g. history, arts and crafts, etc. (Free loan.)

Ford Film Library

25 The Burroughs, Hendon, N.W.4. (01-202 7134).

Catalogue: free

Films about cars and motoring. (Free loan.)

Gas Council (Film Library)

6 Great Chapel Street, London, W.1. (01-734 9102).

Catalogue: free.

Various films on the gas industry, e.g. the development of North Sea gas

Gateway Educational Films Ltd.

470 Green Lanes, London, N.13 (01-882 0177).

Catalogue: 3s. 6d.

Classroom films on a variety of subjects including geography, history, biology, physics, fine arts, literature, painting, etc. (Hire.)

General Post Office (Publicity Branch/Films)

Room 403, Union House, St. Martin-le-Grand, London, E.C.1 (01-432 1234).

Catalogue: free.

Films on various aspects of the work of the Post Office plus class-room films on for example magnetism, the telephone, etc. Documentary classics. (Hire and free loan. Some films are distributed by other libraries, e.g. BFI and Sound Services I.td.)

Golden Films and Travelling Films

Stewart House, 23 Frances Road, Windsor, Berks.

Catalogue: 5s.

Films on many subjects including travel and tourism, fine arts, sport, air transport, science, etc. Most of these are sponsored films on free loan.)

Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd.

(Film Library) Thames House North, Millbank, S.W.1 (01-834 4444).

Catalogue: free.

Films dealing with various aspects of the chemical industry. (Free loan.)

Institut Francais du Royaume-Uni (French Institute)

Queensberry Place, London, S.W.7 (01-589 6211).

Catalogue: free.

France: many aspects, historical and contemporary. Also the arts, sciences, industry, sports, etc., from the French viewpoint. (Hire.)

London Film Makers Co-operative

1 Robert Street, London, N.W.1 (01-387 6573).

Literature available.

English and American underground short films (and a few longer films) by directors like Steve Dwoskin, Ron Rice, Peter Kubelka, Stan Van Der Beek, Peter Goldman. etc. Generally high hire fee.

National Audio-Visual Aids Library/Educational Foundation for Visual Aids

EFVA (head office) 33 Queen Anne Street, London, W.1 (01-MUS 5742 - for catalogue and general enquiries).

NAVA Library

Paxton Place, Gipsy Road, London, S.E.27 (01-670 4247).

Catalogue (including films, filmstrips, loop films and slides) is in eight parts, as follows:

1. Religious Education, English, Modern Languages.
2. History, Civics, Economics.
3. General, Physical and Economic Geography.
4. Regional Geography.

5. Physics, Mathematics, Astronomy, Chemistry.
 6. Nature Study, Botany, Zoology, Hygiene and Health.
 7. Industrial Processes, Technical Training, Crafts, Commercial Subjects, Careers, Behaviour, Safety, Teacher Training.
 8. Arts and Crafts, Domestic Science, Sport, Youth Activities.
- Classroom films on all curriculum subjects and a wide range of industrial and other background materials. (Hire, mostly.) The catalogue comes in eight parts, each part costing between 3s. and 4s. plus postage (complete £1 7s. 6d.). They are revised on 1st January every other year but *Visual Education*, the magazine of the National Committee for Audio-Visual Aids in Education (3s. monthly) publishes details of additions to the library.

National Coal Board (Film Branch)

68/70 Wardour Street, London, W.1 (01-437 4311).

Catalogue: free.

Films on various aspects of the coal industry. (Free loan.)

Newsreel

11 Liston Road, London, S.W.4 (01-622 3958).

Catalogue: free.

'Newsreel is an independent group of radical American film makers who are concerned to report and analyse events, movements and experiences which the established media ignore or distort.' Newsreels about protest, revolt, Black Power, etc. (Hire.)

Petroleum Films Bureau

4 Brook Street, London W1Y 2AY (01-493 3333).

Catalogue: free.

Films on the oil industry, and general subjects. (Free, apart from small handling charge.)

Rank Film Library

P.O. Box 70, Great West Road, Brentford, Middlesex (01-560 0762/3).

Catalogue of sponsored films: free.

Classroom, industrial and general interest covering a variety of subjects. (Many sponsored films on free loan.)

Royal Netherlands Embassy

Cultural Department, 38 Hyde Park Gate, London, S.W.7 (01-584 5040).

Catalogue: free.

Documentaries of various aspects of Dutch life including the sea, cities, architecture, arts. (Distributed by the National Audio-Visual Aids Library. Handling charge.)

Scottish Central Film Library

16/17 Woodside Terrace, Glasgow, C.3 (Douglas 5413).

Catalogue: 7s. 6d.

Large library on practically all subjects. (Reduced hire rates to Scottish school film societies.)

Services Kinema Corps

(Distribution Library), Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks.

Catalogue available.

Various films on aspects of military training, plus Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympische Spiele 1936*. (Hire.)

Sound-Services Ltd.

Kingston Road, Merton Park, London, S.W.19 (01-542 4291).

Sponsored films catalogue: 7s. 6d.

Classroom and training films catalogue: free.

The sponsored films, mostly free, cover subjects like natural history, recreation and the arts, social services, sport, transport, industry.

The classroom and training films are mostly for hire.

Swedish Institute

49 Egerton Crescent, London, S.W.3 (01-499 9500).

Catalogue: free.

Aspects of Swedish life. (On hire through Sound-Services).

Unilever Film Library

Unilever House, London, E.C.4 (01-353 7474).

Catalogue free.

General interest and science films. (Free loan.)

United Nations Information Centre

14 Stratford Place, London, W.1 (01-629 3816).

Catalogue: free.

Films on many aspects of the work of the UN and its specialized agencies (on hire through libraries like CFL, Contemporary, Concord, BFI).

Walt Disney Productions Ltd.

68 Pall Mall, London, S.W.1 (01-839 8010).

Catalogue: free.

Classroom and general interest films on various subjects including geography, arts and crafts, geology, etc. (available on long-term hire only – information available).



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POPULAR CULTURE AND MASS MEDIA STUDIES

A Select Reading List prepared by the B.F.I. Education Department.

The following list of recommended books has been designed to support the separate lists on the cinema and on television. The Education Department has no special expertise in many of the areas covered by this list, but since the debate about the cinema often takes place in the context of a more general debate about popular culture, and since no other centre produces reading lists in this area, it has been felt worthwhile to continue the enterprise. The Department recognizes the list's inadequacies and would welcome suggestions of revisions and additions.

The list consists of six sections as follows:

1. General
2. Mass Media Research
3. Popular Literature
4. The Press
5. Advertising
6. Popular Music

GENERAL

As well as general surveys and philosophical and theoretical works, this section now includes books on specialist areas like folklore, design, architecture and fashion where these make a valuable contribution to the general debate about popular culture.

ARNOLD, MATTHEW

Culture and Anarchy, Cambridge University Press (First published 1869). Paperback 1960.

The debate about popular culture is not new and this classic study sets it in its correct perspective.

Arts in Society, The: International Social Science Journal Vol. 20 No. 4, UNESCO 1968.

A special issue containing essays on various aspects of the sociology of art, with an extensive bibliography.

BANHAM, REYNER

Theory and Design in the First Machine Age, Architectural Press 1960.
An avowed foe of Leavis celebrates the impact of technology and industrialization on our lives and especially as they relate to architecture, painting and design.

BOORSTIN, DANIEL J.

The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream, Pelican 1963.
A study of the American 'illusion industry' accused of 'fabricating' news, celebrities, adventure and desire. Useful annotated bibliography.

BRIGGS, ASA

History of Broadcasting in the UK (2 vols.), OUP 1961, 1965.
A detailed account of the BBC from its inception. The two volumes so far published deal with the early years and are therefore principally concerned with radio.

BRIGGS, ASA

Mass Entertainment: The Origins of a Modern Industry, University of Adelaide 1960.

A general account from the economic point of view. A reprint of a lecture given by Professor Briggs.

CANTOR, NORMAN F. and WERTHMAN, MICHAEL S. (Eds.)

The History of Popular Culture, Collier-Macmillan 1968.

In two volumes. Volume 1 (to 1815) ranges from 'Lust and Blood Lust as Roman Popular Entertainments' and 'The Roman Baths as Popular Recreation' through the Middle Ages to the growth of the popular press in the eighteenth century; Volume 2 (since 1815) covers popular literature, sports, saloons, automobiles, radios, movies, television, and the sexual revolution, ending with the Beatles and the Hippies.

DEER, IRVING and HARRIET, A. (Eds.)

The Popular Arts, a Critical Reader, Charles Scribners & Sons, New York 1967.

A collection of reprinted essays covering aspects of popular literature and cinema as well as general topics. Each section is accompanied by a series of study questions.

DENNEY, REUEL

The Astonished Muse, Chicago University Press 1957.

Interesting essays on a wide range of aspects of popular culture.

DORSON, RICHARD

American Folklore, University of Chicago Press 1959.

An introduction to the subject by a leading authority, ranging over the origins of folk heroes, tall stories, jokes and songs, covering rural and regional aspects as well as modern and urban.

DUNCAN, H. D.

Language and Literature in Society, University of Chicago Press 1953.

The first half of the book is an interesting and stimulating approach to the various ways in which literature is used in society. A good bibliography.

ELIOT, T. S.

Notes Towards a Definition of Culture, Faber 1948.

Defines what Eliot means by culture. Particularly important because of its criticism of the idea of an intellectual élite.

FREUD, SIGMUND

Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious, Routledge 1966.

An analysis of the content of jokes and connections with dreams. Contains large number of (mostly Jewish) jokes.

GARLAND, MADGE

The Indecisive Decade, Macdonald 1968.

A former *Vogue* fashion editor and founding professor of the School of Fashion Design at the Royal College of Art surveys the world of fashion, art and entertainment in the 1930's - 'the life-style of an age'.

GASSET, ORTEGA Y.

The Revolt of the Masses, Allen & Unwin 1961.

First published in Spanish in 1930, this is one of the earliest and best known of the critically hostile accounts of the emergence of 'mass society'.

GIEDION, S.

Mechanization Takes Command, OUP 1948.

A prophet of modern architecture analyses the impact of technology since the Industrial Revolution on architecture, environment and our way of life in general, with interesting material on subjects such as mass production, the conveyor belt and the origins of the department store. A view of the effect of technology markedly different from that of Leavis.

HALL, STUART and WHANNEL, PADDY

The Popular Arts, Hutchinson 1964.

A general survey of the art produced by the mass media with critical comment on particular examples within the wider debate about mass culture. Written specifically for teachers and others engaged in education.

HALLORAN, JAMES D.

Control or Consent?, Sheed and Ward, 1963.

A general study by a sociologist which while drawing on socio-logical evidence, goes beyond this and embraces the work of social critics and cultural historians. A good general introduction.

HILLIER, BEVIS

Art Deco, Studio Vista 1968.

A study of the design movement of the 1920's showing how social phenomena influenced ideas about design spreading into every area of life.

HOGGART, RICHARD

The Uses of Literacy, Penguin 1958.

One of the most discussed and probably the most influential book in this field. A personal and sensitive analysis of working-class culture and the pressures reshaping it.

HOGGART, RICHARD

Speaking to Each Other (Vols. 1 and 2), Chatto & Windus 1970.

Collections of Hoggart's writings in the 1960's. Volume 1 (*About Society*) returns to the theme of popular culture, explored previously in *The Uses of Literacy*. Volume 2 (*About Literature*) is largely literary criticism, and less relevant here.

JACOB, NORMAN (Ed.)

Culture for the Millions, Van Nostrand 1961.

A collection of essays representing different points of view. These include pieces by Hannah Arendt, Oscar Handlin and Edward Shils.

LARRABEE, ERIC and MEYERSOHN, ROLF (Eds.)

Mass Leisure, The Free Press of Glencoe 1958.

A collection of essays on aspects of leisure (both general issues and special topics like sports, hobbies, holidays and fads) as a social phenomenon in the modern world, and America in particular. Designed as a companion volume to *Mass Culture*.

LEAVIS, F. R. and THOMPSON, DENYS

Culture and Environment, Chatto & Windus 1933.

A pioneering book on the teaching of discrimination which concentrates on advertising and popular reading matter. Also valuable because of its general arguments.

LEIGHTON, ISABEL (Ed.)

The Aspirin Age, Penguin 1964.

America 1919-1941 through a number of significant events and people like Aimée Semple McPherson, Lindbergh and Huey Long, as seen by writers and journalists. Most have relevance to the mass media, in particular the accounts of Charles E. Coughlin, the Radio Priest, and Orson Welles's 'War of the Worlds' broadcast.

LERNER, DANIEL

The Passing of Traditional Society, Free Press 1958.

An account of the modernization of Middle Eastern societies which throws an interesting light on the effects of the mass media on such societies.

MACDONALD, DWIGHT

Against the American Grain, Gollancz 1963.

A witty and extremely readable book. The various essays, mainly concerned with literature, are intended as illustrations of the very conservative theory offered in the opening chapter.

MCKECHNIE, S.

Popular Entertainment Through the Ages, Marston 1931.

A general account of the growth of English entertainment which includes references to games and pastimes and brings the story up to the beginnings of the cinema.

MCLUHAN, MARSHALL

The Mechanical Bride, Routledge & Kegan Paul 1967; *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, Routledge & Kegan Paul 1967; *Understanding Media*, Sphere Books 1967; *The Medium is the Message*, Penguin 1967.

These four books by one of the most influential of writers have been widely reviewed. Even where the larger claims made for McLuhan as a major thinker are rejected these volumes are extremely productive of ideas. This is especially so of the earliest and least-mentioned of his books, *The Mechanical Bride*.

MARCUSE, HERBERT

One Dimensional Man, Sphere 1968.

A gloomy view of the effect of modern capitalist society and in

particular the mass media and communications, seen as destroying true individuality and creativity.

MORIN, EDGAR

The Stars, John Calder 1960.

Written primarily from the psychological standpoint. Morin, an intelligent French critic, describes the stars in terms of the audience needs they satisfy.

NUTTALL, J.

Bomb Culture, Paladin 1970.

Ranging over a wide field this ambitious book is in part a description and analysis of, and in part a reflection of, contemporary underground culture.

NUTTALL, J.

Only Connect, Panther Record 6, 1968.

Studies by Hugh Cudlipp (on government interference in press and television), Fred Friendly (on British television), Asa Briggs (on the new universities and society) and William Rees-Mogg (on government and communication).

OPIE, IONA and PETER

Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes, OUP 1951; *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren*, OUP 1959; *Children's Games in Street and Playground*, OUP 1969.

The Opies have specialized in children's folklore and are the recognized authorities in the field. These books study the origins, variations and explanations of various aspects of children's folklore.

PERELMAN, S. J.

The Most of S. J. Perelman, Heinemann 1959.

A wide selection of Perelman's output. Many of his usually affectionate parodies stem from popular novels, movies, magazines, advertisements, theatre.

RIESMAN, DAVID (with NATHAN GLAZER and REUEL DENNEY)

The Lonely Crowd, Anchor Paperback 1953.

Sub-titled 'A study of the changing American character'. Not an easy book to read but a very influential one.

ROSENBURG and WHITE (Eds.)

Mass Culture, Free Press & Falcon's Wing Press 1958.

A valuable collection of articles on aspects of American popular culture. Includes studies on detective stories, comic strips and

popular music as well as articles on the cinema and television. Some of the best-known essays in the field are included.

RUST, FRANCIS

Dance in Society, Routledge and Kegan Paul 1969.

An analysis and history of social dance from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, including such dances as the 'black bottom'.

SMITH, ALFRED G. (Ed.)

Communication and Culture, Holt, Rinehart & Winston 1964.

A post-Shannon and Weaver reader with an emphasis on information theory and the psychology of communication rather than on socio-logical aspects.

SMITH, HENRY NASH

Virgin Land, The American West as Symbol and Myth, Vantage Books 1950.

A classic study of the development of the myth of the American West and its role in American life.

SONTAG, SUSAN

Against Interpretation, Eyre & Spottiswoode 1967.

A collection of essays mainly concerned with aesthetic problems but ranging widely and including discussions of anthropology and politics.

Studies in Modern Communication, Panther Record 7 1969.

Three Granada Guildhall Lectures given in 1968: Richard Crossman on 'The Politics of Television', Lawrence Alloway on 'Popular Culture' and Sir Paul Chambers on 'Communication in Industry'.

THOMPSON, DENYS (Ed.)

Discrimination and Popular Culture, Pelican 1964.

A series of essays on aspects of popular culture by writers like David Holbrook, Philip Abrams, Albert Hunt and Graham Martin. The essays vary widely in quality and attitude but the book's general tone is hostile to popular culture.

WARSHOW, ROBERT

The Immediate Experience, Anchor Books 1964.

Apart from his well-known essays on American movies, like 'The Gangster or Tragic Hero' and 'The Westerner', this collection includes essays on popular literature, theatre and comics (a sane commentary on Wertham's 'Seduction of the Innocent').

WILLETT, JOHN

Art in a City, Methuen 1967.

An analysis of the cultural life in one city (here Liverpool) ranging from film societies to art galleries.

WILLIAMS, RAYMOND

Culture and Society 1780-1950, Penguin 1961.

Examines the idea of culture as it has developed since the eighteenth century. The final chapter is devoted to the writer's own view which stands in sharp contrast to that of Dwight Macdonald in *Against the American Grain*.

WILLIAMS, RAYMOND

Communications, Penguin 1968 (revised edition).

One of the Penguin series 'Britain in the 60's' this provides a good general introduction to the subject. As well as some critical comment, it carries a good deal of useful statistical information.

WILLIAMS, RAYMOND

The Long Revolution, Chatto & Windus 1960.

This book elaborates on the last chapter of *Culture and Society*. There are valuable sections on drama, the contemporary novel, the press and the reading public.

WILSON, EDMUND

Classics and Commercials, W. H. Allen 1966; *The Shores of Light*, W. H. Allen 1966.

Wilson's critical journalism includes pieces on various aspects of popular culture, such as best-sellers and detective stories.

WILSON, R. N. (Ed.)

The Arts in Society, Prentice-Hall 1965.

A sociological study of the artistic personality and temperament, ranging over all the arts.

WOLFE, TOM

Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby, Cape 1966.

A journalistic rhapsody on the more delirious flights of fashion and withitness in the 1960's including music, clothes, life-styles.

WOLFENSTEIN, MARTHA and LEITES, NATHAN

Movies: A Psychological Study, The Free Press of Glencoe 1959.

Content analysis (not audience research) which aims to reveal the mythic qualities of the popular film.

The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham publishes a series of Occasional Papers on mass media

topics. The pamphlets deal with a wide variety of topics ranging from general accounts of mass media studies to particular views of one limited area but all are of interest to students of mass media and popular culture. The pamphlets published and available are:

Possibilities for Local Radio, by Rachel Powell. Occasional Paper No. 1 1965.

Claude Lévi-Strauss and the Cultural Sciences, by Tim Moore. Occasional Paper No. 4 1969.

Sociology and Cultural Studies: Some Problems, by Rolf Meyersohn. Occasional Paper No. 5 March 1969.

Contemporary Cultural Studies: An approach to the Study of Literature and Society. Occasional Paper No. 6 March 1969.

New Trends in the Study of Mass Communications, by Edgar Morin. Occasional Paper No. 7 1969.

STEARNS, GERALD E. (Ed.)

McLuhan: Hot and Cool, A Critical Symposium, Penguin 1968.

A collection of essays covering a wide range of opinion about McLuhan's work. McLuhan himself replies to some of his critics.

MASS MEDIA RESEARCH

Although a great deal has been published in this field much of it is purely quantitative dealing with the size and character of the audience, interests and activities displaced by the media, etc. Where the impact on ideas, values and attitudes is handled this is characteristically usually in terms of didactic rather than entertainment material. Typically there is a substantial amount of research in the field of journalism and in television especially in its journalistic aspects but virtually nothing on the cinema. This list is highly selective and readers are referred to the UNESCO bibliographies as well as the bibliographies in books like *Television and the Child and People, Society and Mass Communications*. *New Society* usually reviews important new studies in the field.

ABRAMS, MARK

The Teenage Consumer Spending in 1959, London Press Exchange 1961. A study of how young people spend their money. Designed to help the commercial producers.

BERELSON, BERNARD and JANOWITZ, MORRIS (Eds.)

Reader in Public Opinion and Communication, The Free Press of Glencoe 1953 (revised ed.).

A collection of essays ranging from the critical and speculative to the strictly sociological. The revised edition carries useful additional material on research techniques.

DEXTER, L. A. and WHITE, D. W.

People, Society and Mass Communications, Collier-Macmillan 1964.

A substantial collection of writings by American researchers. The topics range from theoretical problems of method to studies of particular media products.

FORMAN, H. J.

Our Movie Made Children, Macmillan New York 1935.

A summary of the Payne Fund Studies into the effects of the cinema; much dated but virtually the only thing on the subject.

HALLORAN, J. D.

Attitude Formation and Change, University of Leicester Press; 1969
The Effects of Mass Communication University of Leicester Press 1965.
These two volumes, described as *Working Papers*, were produced for the Television Research Committee by James Halloran, a sociologist who acts as secretary to the Committee. They are probably the best introductions to the findings and problems of research in this field as well as being excellent introductions to further reading.

HALMOS, PAUL (Ed.)

The Sociology of Mass Media Communicators, The Sociological Review Monograph No. 13, University of Keele 1969.

A collection of recent work in various areas of the sociology of mass media, including a useful summary by J. D. Halloran of the whole field of communications theory and research.

HIMMELWEIT, HILDE

Television and the Child, OUP 1958.

The results of the Nuffield Foundation research project. One of the most important books in the field.

KLAPPER, J. T.

The Effects of Mass Communication, The Free Press of Glencoe 1961.
A general survey by one of the recognized authorities in this field.

MAYER, J. P.

British Cinemas and Their Audience, Denis Dobson 1948.

A large part of this book is given over to descriptions by regular cinemagoers of their responses to films. Although the material is rather dated, the attitudes revealed are still extremely interesting.

MAYER, J. P.

Sociology of Film, Faber 1946.

A somewhat misleading title for a rather speculative book. Contains some interesting examples of audience response.

MOLEY, RAYMOND

Are We Movie Made?, Macy-Marcus New York 1948.

A reply to H. J. Forman's *Our Movie Made Children* and a criticism of the Payne Fund Studies.

SCHRAMM, WILBUR

Mass Communications, University of Illinois Press 1959 (2nd ed.)

A broad survey of mass communications by one of America's foremost investigators.

SCHRAMM, WILBUR, LYLE, JACK and PARKER, EDWIN B.

Television in the Lives of Our Children, Stanford University Press 1961.

A research study covering the same sort of ground as Himmelweit's *Television and the Child* but in an American context.

SCHRAMM, WILBUR

Mass Media and National Development, Stanford University Press UNESCO 1964.

A study of the role of information and the mass media in developing countries.

STEINBERG, CHARLES S. (Ed.)

Mass Media and Communication, Hastings House, New York 1966.

A survey of the impact of mass media on society, with sections on public opinion, the press, cinema, radio and television, as well as general topics. Contributors include Wilbur Schramm, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, W. Lippmann, David Riesman.

TRENAMAN, J. M.

Communications and Comprehension, Longmans 1967.

The product of research work carried out by the late Joseph Trenaman when he was Granada Research Fellow in Communication at the University of Leeds. The emphasis is on the communication of educative material with special reference to broadcasting.

TRENAMAN, J. M. and MARSDEN, D.

Television and The Political Image, Methuen 1961.

A study of the impact (in this case lack of impact) of party political broadcasts over the 1959 election period.

Report of the Departmental Committee on Children and the Cinema (Wheare Report), HMSO 1950.

The research on which this report relied is purely quantitative but some of the evidence from individuals is still interesting.

POPULAR LITERATURE

Some of the books listed in the general section are relevant. These include *Culture and Environment*, *Mass Culture*, *Against the American Grain*, *The Uses of Literacy*, *The Long Revolution*, *Communications* and Hall and Whannel's *The Popular Arts*. The volumes in the series *Pelican Guide to English Literature* should also be consulted and some of the pieces in *Scrutiny* (re-issued in seven volumes by Cambridge University Press 1963) are useful. David Holbrook takes a hostile view, in an educational context, in sections of *English for Maturity* (Cambridge University Press 1961) and *The Secret Place* (Methuen 1964) as well as in his general survey in *Discrimination and Popular Culture*.

AMIS, KINGSLEY

New Maps of Hell, Four Square Paperback 1963.

A witty and illuminating study of science fiction from Jules Verne to the present day.

AMIS, KINGSLEY

The James Bond Dossier, Cape 1965.

A critical study and defence of Ian Fleming's Bond books.

BECKER, STEPHEN

Comic Art in America, Simon and Schuster, New York 1959.

A social history of American comics and cartoons. Well documented and illustrated.

BETHELL, S. L.

Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition, Staples 1944.

An attempt to relate Shakespeare's plays to the popular traditions of the drama. The study contains specific references to the modern media, especially the cinema.

DEL BUONO, ORESTE and ECO, UMBERTO (Eds.)

The Bond Affair, McDonald 1966.

An important book offering a study of the Bond novels from a number of different points of view.

FEIFFER, JULES

The Great Comic Book Heroes, Allen Lane The Penguin Press 1967.

A personal account of the cartoonist's experience of comics in the 1930's and 1940's together with an analysis of the origins and development of the form.

FREEMAN, GILLIAN

The Undergrowth of Literature, Panther Paperback 1969.

A study of modern pornography of the kind to be found in Soho bookshops, examining the cults for flagellation, leather, etc., and arguing in favour of pornography as catharsis.

GARDINER and WALKER (Eds.)

Raymond Chandler Speaking, Hamish Hamilton 1962.

An excellent collection of papers and letters. They contain some of Chandler's wittiest and most incisive comments on the thriller novel, crime fiction and Hollywood.

HARBAGE, A.

Shakespeare's Audience, Columbia University Press 1941, Paperback 1961.

A study which brings together the evidence on the size, social composition and intelligence of the audience for Shakespeare's plays.

HENDERSON, W. (Ed.)

Victorian Street Ballads, Country Life 1937.

A study of the street ballads of the Victorian period, their subject matter and audiences.

JAMES, LOUIS

Fiction for the Working Man 1830-50, OUP 1963.

A study of popular fiction for the working-class reading public in the early Victorian period. It includes studies of Dickens's plagiarisms, as well as fiction imported from America and France.

KNIGHTS, L. C.

Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson, Peregrine Books 1962.

A detailed examination of the period designed to illuminate the relation between economic activities and culture.

LEAVIS, Q. D.

Fiction and the Reading Public, Chatto & Windus 1932.

This analysis in the changes in the reading public makes a bridge between the study of literature and social history.

LEWIS, C. S.

Experiment in Criticism, Cambridge University Press 1961.

A stimulating book which approaches literature through a study of different types of readers and ways of reading.

LOWENTHAL, LEO

Literature, Popular Culture and Society, Prentice Hall 1961.

This book is also concerned with the relationship between the popular and major levels of achievement. A 'case study' of the eighteenth century is especially useful.

MARCUS, STEVEN

The Other Victorians, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966.

A study of Victorian pornography by a literary critic much influenced by Freud.

ORWELL, GEORGE

Critical Essays, Secker & Warburg 1951.

This collection contains the outstanding essays on Raffles and Miss Blandish and on Boys' Weeklies.

PERRY, GEORGE and ALDRIDGE, ALAN

The Penguin Book of Comics, Penguin 1967.

A history of comic strips mainly consisting of examples.

POTTER, STEPHEN

The Sense of Humour, Penguin 1964.

A commented anthology which attempts to analyse English humour in literature from Chaucer to the twentieth century.

SUMMERS, M.

The Gothic Quest, Fortune 1938.

A study of the growth of the Gothic element in popular fiction and literature.

SYMONDS, JULIAN

The Detective Story in Britain, Longmans 1961.

A useful general account which should be read in conjunction with the essays by Orwell and Wilson.

TOMKINS, J. M. S.

The Popular Novel in England 1770-1800, Methuen 1962 (originally published in 1932).

A study of popular fiction in the period, including chapters on the Romance, the Historical Novel and the Gothic melodrama.

TURNER, E. S.

Boys Will Be Boys, Michael Joseph 1957 (revised ed.).

The story of popular literature for boys. An amusing description of such heroes as Sexton Blake, Billy Bunter and Dick Barton.

WATT, IAN

The Rise of the Novel, Peregrine Books 1963.

An excellent study. Particularly relevant is the discussion of realism and the popular origins of the novel.

WERTHAM, FREDERICK

Seduction of the Innocent, Museum Press 1956.

A study of the exploitation of sex and violence in certain kinds of American comic papers.

THE PRESS

As well as the general surveys listed below some of the biographies and personal accounts are interesting. Most notable is A. P. Ryan's biography of Lord Northcliffe published by Collins in 1953, Hugh Cudlipp's books *Publish and Be Damned* (Dakers 1953) and *At Your Peril* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson) are revealing and highly entertaining. *At Your Peril* contains a detailed account of the Mirror-Pictorial merger with Amalgamated Press. There is also Arthur Christiansen's *Headlines All My Life* (Heinemann), Cecil King's *Strictly Personal* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1969) and Russell Braddon's biography of Lord Thomson, *Roy Thomson of Fleet Street* (Fontana 1968). In a different category *The Official History of The Times* is worth consulting as are the Annual Reports of the Press Council, and Chapter 3 Part II of Raymond Williams's *The Long Revolution* (on the origins of the popular press). There are useful sections on the press in *Discrimination and Popular Culture*, Williams's *Communications* and McLuhan's *Understanding Media*.

Beaverbrook Press and The British Council, The British Council Staff Association 1954.

An account of the treatment of the British Council by the Beaverbrook newspapers.

BOURNE, H. R.

English Newspapers (2 vols.), Russell 1966.*

A standard history.

HERD, H.

The March of Journalism, Allen & Unwin 1952.

A good and very readable general history.

HOGGART, RICHARD (Ed.)

Your Sunday Paper, University of London Press 1967.

A study of Sunday newspapers by a number of different contributors. Based on a television series.

* First published 1887

MATTHEWS, T. S.

The Sugar Pill, Gollancz 1957.

A sophisticated American journalist looks at the *Daily Mirror* and The *Guardian* from the inside.

Performance of the Press, P.E.P. 1956.

A limited but quite useful survey.

Reports of the Royal Commissions on the Press, HMSO 1949, HMSO 1962.

These reports are important sources of information about the economic aspects of the press and the changes that have taken place over the years. The earlier report is much the more useful dealing in some detail, as the second does not, with the actual performance of the press.

THOMPSON, DENYS

Between the Lines, Frederick Muller 1939.

Subtitled *How To Read a Newspaper*, this is still the best critical study of press content available.

WILLIAMS, FRANCIS

Dangerous Estate, Arrow Books 1959.

A most readable general study and an excellent introduction to the subject.

ADVERTISING

Of the books listed in the general section, there are relevant chapters in *Discrimination And Popular Culture* and Hall and Whannel's *Popular Arts* while McLuhan's *The Mechanical Bride* contains commentaries on a large number of advertisements. Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* (Pelican 1962) is a basic critique of the social economy to which advertising is central.

BIRCH, LIONEL

The Advertising We Deserve?, Vista Books 1962.

Written by an ex-employee of Colman, Prentice & Varley, this is an extremely balanced account of the subject.

BISHOP, F. P.

The Economics of Advertising, *The Ethics of Advertising*, R. Hale 1949.

These books offer a plausible defence of advertising on economic and moral grounds.

DICHTER, ERNEST

Strategy of Desire, Boardman 1960.

A classic defence of market research by a leading figure in the field, arguing the 'fun ethics' case, that people should enjoy themselves.

HARRIS, R. and SELDON, A.

Advertising in Action, Hutchinson 1962.

A rather uneven book but useful for the information it provides about particular campaigns.

HARRIS, R. and SELDON, A.

Advertising in a Free Society, Institute for Economic Affairs 1959.

Perhaps the best and most authoritative defence of advertising.

MAYER, MARTIN

Madison Avenue, USA, Penguin 1962.

An insider's account of the American scene and a useful balance to Packard.

OGILVY, DAVID

Confessions of an Advertising Man, Mayflower Paperback 1966.

A rather journalistic defence of advertising ethics and practice by a notoriously successful practitioner.

PACKARD, VANCE

The Hidden Persuaders, Penguin 1960.

The most quoted book on the subject and listed here for that reason. While it contains some useful information it is slapdash in treatment and concentrates on the more sensational techniques of subliminal advertising.

The Teacher Looks at Advertising, National Union of Teachers 1963.

Reprints the evidence submitted by the Union to the Advertising Commission and carries a synopsis of work done in teaching discrimination in a secondary school.

THOMAS, DENIS

The Visible Persuaders, Hutchinson 1967.

A response to *The Hidden Persuaders* arguing that advertising effectively does the job of discovering people's wants and helping manufacturers to supply them. The book covers economic and social aspects and relates advertising to the popular arts.

TURNER, E. S.

The Shocking History of Advertising, Penguin 1965.

A light-hearted but intelligent history of the more excessive flights of advertising fancy.

WILSON, ALEXANDER (Ed.)

Advertising and the Community, Manchester University Press 1968.

A general, balanced survey of the subject in a collection of essays grouped round the topics Why Advertising?, Advertising and

Public Confidence, Forces of Control, Consumer Interest. Contributors include Elizabeth Ackroyd and Richard Hoggart.

THOMPSON, DENYS

Voice of Civilization, Frederick Muller 1943.

Although the examples are out-of-date this book along with *Culture and Environment* still provides the best critical study of advertising.

BROWN, J. A. C.

Techniques of Persuasion, Penguin 1963.

Includes chapters on such things as psychological warfare and brain washing as well as advertising. A useful book but under the cover of assumed objectivity some odd value judgments are at work.

POPULAR MUSIC

Including jazz, blues, folk music, rock, musical comedy.

ALDRIDGE, ALAN *et al*

The Beatles Illustrated Lyrics, Macdonald 1960.

The most important Beatles lyrics illustrated by a number of contemporary artists and photographers, giving a good idea of the visual culture the Beatles helped to stimulate.

BALLIET, WHITNEY

The Sound of Surprise, Pelican 1963.

Basically a collection of record reviews. Under-edited, but the comment on the quality of individual players is especially good. Includes a discography listing most of the records referred to in the text.

BELZ, CARL

The Story of Rock, OUP (America) 1969.

A defence and analysis of post-1954 rock music as folk art, by a professor of art history. Sensitive, intelligent and only occasionally academic, the study ends with the contention that rock has broken through to becoming a fine art.

CHARTERS, SAM

Poetry of the Blues, Oak Publications 1963.

A collection of blues lyrics, with notes and photographs.

COHN, NIK

Pop From the Beginning, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969.

An unashamedly prejudiced but wildly enthusiastic account of pop music by a fan who will have no truck with psychedelia or art. He sees pop as 'all teenage property'.

DAVIES, HUNTER

The Beatles, Mayflower Paperback 1969.

An account of the background and rise to fame of the Beatles. A

fairly straightforward account but much more substantial and more sober in tone than similar biographies.

EISEN, JONATHAN (Ed.)

The Age of Rock, Sounds of the American Cultural Revolution, Random House, New York 1969.

A collection of essays on rock music from British and American journals like *Partisan Review*, *Esquire*, *New Left Review*, and *New Society*, including contributors like Wilfrid Mellers, Tom Wolfe. The individual essays vary in quality but the collection as a whole is excellent.

GLEASON, RALPH J.

The Jefferson Airplane and the San Francisco Sound, Ballantine Books 1969.

A description of the 'coming of age of rock 'n roll in San Francisco' 1965-69, with in-depth interviews with members of Jefferson Airplane and Grateful Dead. Gleason is at his best when dealing with the musical rather than the socio-political aspects of this creative explosion.

GOLDSTEIN, RICHARD (Ed.)

The Poetry of Rock, Bantam Books 1969.

Basically a source book of important rock lyrics, from Chuck Berry to Lennon and McCartney and Bob Dylan. The introduction claims that the lyrics should be treated as poetry. The brief notes about individual artists are often perceptive.

GREEN, BENNY

The Reluctant Art, McGibbon & Kee 1962.

A collection of informative essays by a jazz critic who is also a performer. Studies include Bix Beiderbecke, Lester Young, Billie Holliday and Charlie Parker.

GREEN, STANLEY

The World of Musical Comedy, A. S. Barnes, New Jersey 1969.

A popular biographical study, concerned with the theatre rather than the cinema.

GUTHRIE, WOODY

Bound for Glory, Dent 1969.

The autobiography of Guthrie, folksinger extraordinary, authentic folk hero and a profound influence on contemporary folk and popular music.

HENTOFF and SHAPIRO

Hear me Talkin' To Ya, Pelican 1962.

An account of the music from its early days in New Orleans up to the present told through the words of the musicians who created it.

HENTOFF, NAT

The Jazz Life, Peter Davies 1962.

An extremely readable and valuable book. The emphasis is on the social aspects of the music.

HODIER, ANDRÉ

Jazz, Its Evolution and Essence, Secker & Warburg 1956.

A serious study written from the modern standpoint. Only recommended to those with some technical knowledge of music.

HOLLIDAY, BILLIE (*with* WILLIAM DUFTY)

Lady Sing The Blues, Ace Books 1958.

A somewhat fanciful account of the life of this remarkable singer. A discography is included.

HOWES, FRANK

Folk Music of Britain and Beyond, Methuen 1970.

A scholarly attempt to define and analyse folk music, sometimes rather too academic for the layman.

JONES, LEROI

Blues People, MacGibbon & Kee 1965.

An intense and tough study of Negro music in America – from a black critic's viewpoint. Essentially about 'why and how' the blues, rural and urban, developed – with imperative social overtones.

JONES, LEROI

Black Music, MacGibbon & Kee 1969.

A collection of articles, interviews and sleeve notes on the jazz avant-garde. More concerned with the artists and their musical development than with social references. Very informative, especially for those who are aware of and sympathetic to this new form.

KEIL, CHARLES

Urban Blues, University of Chicago Press 1966.

An outstanding contribution to a little documented field. It combines scholarship with an intimate knowledge of the subject. An invaluable appendix defines and traces the development of the various blues styles from the emergence of the form up to contemporary beat music.

LAING, DAVE

The Sound of Our Time, Sheed and Ward 1970.

A good introduction to contemporary popular music, with sections on its origins and its relationship with revolutionary politics.

LAURIE, PETER

Teenage Revolution, Anthony Blond 1965.

A rather slight survey but while not specifically about contemporary popular music it provides some useful information about its social context.

LEONARD, NEIL

Jazz and the White Americans, Chicago University Press 1962.

A sociological analysis of the growth of jazz in America.

LOMAX, ALAN (Ed.)

The Penguin Book of American Folk Songs, Penguin 1964.

LLOYD, A. L.

Folk Song in England, Panther Arts 1969.

A lively and scholarly introduction to the subject by the eminent Marxist singer and collector, tracing the origins and meanings of many songs and the evolution of the form in relation to social-historical developments.

MABEY, RICHARD

The Pop Process, Hutchinson Educational 1969.

A book designed to instruct 'curious adults' about the origins and present state of pop music. Instructive, well-written and with sane judgments, though already slightly dated.

MCCARTHY, ALBERT et al

Jazz on Record, Hanover Books 1968.

This is a revised version of the reference book originally published by Hutchinson in 1960 in an Arrow Paperback edition. The revisions are considerable and the inclusion of a great number of early blues performers seems to have resulted in the deletion of some of the more sophisticated instrumentalists.

MACINNES, COLIN

Sweet Saturday Night – Popular Song 1840–1920, Panther Arts 1969.

An evocation and survey of English music hall songs and performers.

MARCUS, GREIL (Ed.)

Rock and Roll Will Stand, Beacon Press 1969.

A collection of essays on various aspects of rock music, from purely emotional response to the relationship with activist revolutionary politics.

MELLERS, WILFRED

Music in a New Found Land, Barrie & Rockliff 1964.

Covers the full range of music in America but has a substantial

section on popular music and jazz. Mellers, an outstanding writer on music, is one of the few critics to have a real knowledge of, and response to jazz and popular music.

NEWTON, FRANCIS

The Jazz Scene, MacGibbon & Kee 1959.

An excellently written and balanced account. A first-class introduction to the subject.

OLIVER, PAUL

The Meaning of the Blues, Collier-Macmillan 1962.

Originally published as *Blues Fell This Morning* this volume analyses the meanings of a large selection of blues lyrics.

OLIVER, PAUL

Conversations With the Blues, Cassell 1965.

Blues artists tell their own stories.

OLIVER, PAUL

The Story of the Blues, Barrie & Rockliff, The Cresset Press 1969.

A well-researched, lavishly produced survey with discography and bibliography.

PLEASANTS, HENRY

Serious Music – And All That Jazz, Victor Gollancz 1969.

Having argued in a previous book that the art of serious music had reached a dead end, Pleasants here considers Afro-American idioms and suggests that jazz, blues, country and western and rock should be regarded as serious music.

REEVES, JAMES

Idiom of the People, Mercury Books 1960.

A collection of folk songs derived from the manuscripts of Cecil Sharp. With notes and a substantial introduction.

ROGERS, E.

Tin Pan Alley, Robert Hale 1964.

A typical 'as told to' type autobiography but contains some information about the commercial organization of the pop industry.

SHARP, CECIL

English Folk Song: Some Conclusions, Mercury Books 1965.

First published in 1907, this pioneering classic study by the great collector is still of great interest.

SHAW, ARNOLD

The Rock Revolution, Collier-Macmillan 1969.

A scholarly book which charts the history of pop music over the last fifteen years. Interesting insights on social history.

SIMON, GEORGE T.

The Big Bands, Collier-Macmillan 1968.

Covers a wide range of bands playing in a variety of styles. A popular survey but a useful source of information on this period.

SMITH, CECIL

Musical Comedy in America, Theatre Arts Books, New York 1950.

A history of the popular musical stage, primarily on Broadway, designed 'to tell what the various entertainments were like, how they looked and sounded, who was in them, and why they made people laugh or cry'.

SPAETH, SIGMUND

A History of Popular Music in America, Phoenix House 1960.

This is a chronicle rather than a history and is useful for its basic factual information about composers, publications, dates, etc. It covers the period from the War of Independence to the present day.

STEARNS, MARSHALL

The Story of Jazz, Mentor Paperback 1958.

This is the best general history available. It has a very full bibliography.

STEARNS, MARSHALL and JEAN

Jazz Dance – The Story of American Vernacular Dance, Collier-Macmillan 1968.

A history of dancing to jazz, from its African origins to the present, ranging from medicine shows and Negro minstrels, through the shuffle and tap dancing to the jitterbug. Most of the material is taken from interviews.

VAUGHAN WILLIAMS, R. and LLOYD, A. L. (Eds.)

The Penguin Book of English Folk Songs, Penguin 1961.

JOURNALS

The *Melody Maker* is still the best of the weekly musical papers and the only one to cover jazz extensively. Intelligent comment on a wide range of popular music and occasional book reviews. The other weeklies, *New Musical Express*, *Disc* and *New Record Mirror* are generally less intelligent and not concerned with jazz.

The fortnightly American magazines *Fusion* and *Rolling Stone*, both widely available in Britain, are concerned exclusively with rock and its social manifestations. Both contain interviews, articles and reviews characterized by intelligence and enthusiasm.

Two magazines devoted to jazz are published monthly: *Jazz Journal* and *Jazz Monthly*. The latter is the more serious and committed but the articles are frequently pretentious and the non-specialist might find the *Jazz Journal* more to his taste.

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Cover picture: Randolph Scott in *The Tall T*.